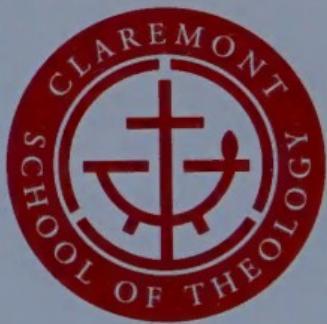


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R. V. Light,
August 1900.



TEMPLE AT PHILAE

Passing through a massive doorway the stranger finds himself in an apartment where are ten noble pillars measuring fourteen feet round covered with rich carvings and painted in the most vivid colours."

Wonders of Egypt

ITS TEMPLES & MONUMENTS



ENTRY TO THE PALACE AT LUXOR.—FORMERLY THEBES

In front of the entrance stand two of the most perfect Obelisks in the world, each consisting of a single block of red granite. Page 225
One of these Obelisks has since been removed by the French and now stands in the Place de la Concord at Paris.

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HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPT:

ITS TEMPLES AND MONUMENTS.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. M. RUSSELL, LL.D. D.C.L.,

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE OXFORD,

Author of "Palestine, or the Holy Land," "Nubia and Abyssinia,"
"History and Present Condition of the Barbary States," "Polynesia," &c.

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P R E F A C E.

In the View of Ancient and Modern Egypt exhibited in the following pages, its learned author exercised great diligence in availing himself of the materials furnished both by ancient and modern writers, nor did he fail, in preparing a third edition for the press, to enrich it with information derived from the most recent publications both of French and English scholars. It is a singular evidence, however, of the activity and well-directed co-operation of the learned men of Europe in the present age, that the history of the most ancient people in the world is every year receiving new and important additions. A period of twelve years has elapsed since Dr. Russell availed himself of the most recent labours of Rifaud, Wilkinson, Mure, Renwick, and Rosellini. But during that time the most important additions have been made to our knowledge of Egyptian history. The whole system of historic chronology has been revised by the aid of the established succession of Egyptian dynasties, and though as yet we cannot hope that more than a partial approximation to scientific chronological precision has been made, still the results are of the utmost value in the elucidation both of sacred and profane history.

The wonderful and altogether unprecedented discoveries of M. Botta and Dr. Layard, disclosing evidences

of Assyrian power and grandeur, have revealed to us the elements of ancient Asiatic history contemporary with some of the most remarkable epochs in the Egyptian annals.

These disclosures have naturally conferred a new interest on the whole range of study comprehended in the archæological and hieroglyphical investigations of the monuments of Egypt, which have been originated and carried on with such gratifying success by the scholars of the present generation. It has therefore become indispensable to revise the valuable labours of Dr. Russell, in order to bring down his *View of Ancient and Modern Egypt* to the present day. Nearly one hundred pages of entirely new matter have accordingly been added, comprehending a concise and popular history of the series of discoveries by means of which the problem of Egyptian hieroglyphics has at length been completely solved. To this is added a view of the remarkably interesting light which these discoveries have already thrown on Scripture history, and the evidences they disclose in elucidation of the progress of the older nations of the world, whose annals have been obscured or lost in the lapse of time. In its present form this volume is confidently offered to the British reader as a valuable compendium both of historical and biblical illustration, derived from the most ancient of all existing records,—the paintings and the hieroglyphics of the great valley of the Nile.

EDINBURGH, *January*, 1850.

* * * The present edition of Bishop Russell's *Egypt*, has, in addition to the history of the most recent observations and discoveries in relation to the ancient history and antiquities of that remarkable country, a Biographical Sketch of the latter days of Mohammed Ali, with notices of his son Ibrahim, and his grandson the reigning Viceroy of Egypt.

EDINBURGH, *January*, 1852.

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A VIEW
OF
ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPT,
&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

Importance of Egyptian Antiquities—Egypt an old Country in the Infant Age of Greece—Thebes famous in the Days of Homer—Learning and Science of Europe derived from Egypt through Phenicia and Greece—Inquiry into the Source of Egyptian Learning and Civilisation—The early Improvement of Nubia and Abyssinia—Resemblance between the Religion, the Symbols, and Architecture of India and of Egypt—Anecdote of the Sepoys in British Army—Remarks on the Temples in both Countries—A similar Resemblance between the Egyptians and Chinese—All primitive Tribes derived their Knowledge from the same Source—Institution of Castes in Egypt and India—Statements of Herodotus and Diodorus on that Subject—Probability that Civilisation and the Arts descended the Nile—Contrast between their advanced Knowledge and their debased Worship—Reflection on the Importance attached to the durable Nature of Architectural Monuments.

IN many respects Egypt has long appeared to the scholar, the antiquary, and the philosopher, the most interesting country on the face of the earth. Relatively to the various tribes who, at successive eras, have founded states westward of the Black Sea and the Syrian Desert, it has with justice been regarded as the cradle of science, as well as the first seat of regular government. Even

CHAP. I.
Interest
attached to
Egypt.

CHAP. I. the polished nations of modern Europe are accustomed to ascribe the rudiments of their literature and arts to the ingenious people who, at a period beyond the records of civil history, occupied the banks of the Nile.

Dificulties of the subject. It is, no doubt, extremely difficult to construct, out of the scanty materials which have reached our times, a chain of narrative so complete as to connect, without omitting some essential links, the present with the past, and to enable us to derive an explanation of what we see from a competent knowledge of what we are told has been. Between the immediate successors of Menes, twenty centuries before the Christian era, and the delegated rule which now directs the affairs of Egypt, there is a wide gulf, through which neither the boldest archæologist has yet been able to establish a path, nor the eye of history to direct its vision. It requires even a great effort of imagination to combine the ideas of that magnificence which must have distinguished the epoch when Thebes was built, and the splendid monuments of her kings were erected, with the facts which meet the view of the traveller in our own days, amid the desolations of Karnac and the ruins of Luxor.

Antiquity of Egypt. The land of the Pharaohs, in truth, was an old country in the infant age of Greece. The earliest writers of Europe described its grandeur as having already reached its consummation, and even as beginning to pass away ; while the philosophers and historians who crossed the Mediterranean in search of knowledge, were astonished at the proofs of an antiquity which surpassed all their notions of recorded time, and at the tokens of a wisdom, genius, and opulence, of which they could hardly hope that their countrymen would believe the description. In the days of Homer the capital of the Thebaid, with its hundred gates and its vast population, was a subject of wonder and of the most exalted panegyric,—an effect which we should at once attribute to the exaggeration of the poet, were it not that the remains which, even after the lapse of three thousand years, continue to resist the injuries of the atmosphere

and of barbarism, bear evidence to a still greater magnificence than is recorded in the pages of the *Odyssey*. CHAP. I. While the nations which at present make the greatest High civiliza-
figure in the world, and influence most deeply the con-
dition of human nature, had not yet passed through
the first stage of social life, the inhabitants of Thebes
and Memphis had made a vast progress in civilisation,
and were even found gratifying a learned curiosity by
inquiries into the constitution of the universe, and into
the laws which regulate the movements of the heavenly
bodies. Nor was it only the learning and mythological
doctrines which characterized the brightest periods of
Greece and Rome that were borrowed from the Egyp-
tians. We can trace to the same source those more Source of
valuable sciences which exercised the talents of the scientific
most ancient and renowned among European sages. knowledge.
Pythagoras condescended to study the elements of ma-
thematics in the schools of the priests ; while Hecatæus
and Herodotus collected the materials of history among
the same class of men, who had carefully preserved the
knowledge of former generations.

The Greeks, it has been frequently remarked, were Comparative
the only nation in Europe who had any pretensions to antiquity of
antiquity. But the wisest even among that ambitious
people considered themselves as of yesterday compared
to the Egyptians. Plato confessed that his countrymen
had no memorial of any event beyond a thousand or at
most two thousand years before his own time ; whereas,
in the days of Moses, the wisdom of Egypt had already
become proverbial, and that, too, among the Syrian
tribes who bordered upon the original seats of primeval
knowledge. Phenicia, which appears to have set the Phenicia
first example of commercial intercourse to the rude
colonies on the northern shores of the great sea, proved
the medium through which the learning, the laws, and
the religion of the Nile were conveyed to the ancestors
of those brave and ingenious nations who have since
associated an imperishable fame with the memory of
Athens and Lacedemon. The names of Cadmus, Ce-

CHAP. I.

crops, and Danaus, continue to represent those missions or voluntary migrations which, at a remote period, transported from Africa to Europe the treasures of oriental wisdom.

Source of
Egyptian
civilization.

It has long been an object of inquiry among scholars to discover the channel through which civilisation, science, and an acquaintance with the liberal arts, first reached the valley which is watered by the Nile. Without analyzing the numerous hypotheses which have been successively formed and abandoned, or repeating the various conjectures which have, age after age, amused the ingenuity of the learned, we shall state at once, as the most probable of the opinions entertained on this subject, that the stream of knowledge accompanied the progress of commerce along the banks of those great rivers which fall into the Persian Gulf, and thence along the coast of Arabia to the shores of the Red Sea. There is the best reason to believe that those passes or lateral defiles, which connect the sea just named with the river of Egypt, witnessed the earliest migration of colonists from Asia; who, in the pursuits of commerce, or in search of more fertile lands, or of mountains enriched with gold, found their way into Nubia and Abyssinia. Meantime, it is probable, a similar current set eastward across the mouths of the Indus, carrying arts and institutions of a corresponding character into the countries which stretch from that river to the great peninsula of Hindostan.

Intercourse
with Asia.

Similarity of
Indian and
Egyptian re-
mains.

The most obvious confirmation of the opinion now stated may be drawn from the striking resemblance which is known to subsist between the usages, the superstitions, the arts, and the mythology of the ancient inhabitants of Western India, and those of the first settlers on the Upper Nile. The temples of Nubia, for example, exhibit the same features, whether as to the style of architecture or the form of worship to which they were devoted, with the similar buildings which have been recently examined in the neighbourhood of Bombay. In both cases they consist of vast excavations

hewn out in the solid body of a hill or mountain, and are decorated with huge figures which indicate the same powers of nature, or serve as emblems to denote the same qualities in the ruling spirits of the universe.

As a farther proof of this hypothesis, we are informed that the sepoys who joined the British army in Egypt, under Lord Hutchinson, imagined that they found their own temples in the ruins of Dendera, and were greatly exasperated at the natives for their neglect of the ancient deities, whose images are still preserved. So strongly, indeed, were they impressed with this identity, that they proceeded to perform their devotions with all the ceremonies practised in their own land. There is a resemblance, too, in the minor instruments of their superstition,—the lotus, the lingam, and the serpent,—which can hardly be regarded as accidental; but it is, no doubt, in the immense extent, the gigantic plan, the vast conception which appear in all their sacred buildings, that we most readily discover the influence of the same lofty genius, and the endeavour to accomplish the same mighty object. The excavated temple of Guerfeh Hassan, for instance, reminds every traveller of the cave Cave temples of Elephanta. The resemblance, indeed, is singularly striking; as are, in fact, all the leading principles of Egyptian architecture to that of the Hindoos. In both countries large masses of rock have been excavated into hollow chambers, the sides of which are decorated with columns and statues of men and animals carved out of the same stone; and in each are found solid blocks weighing many hundred tons, separated from the adjoining mountain and lifted up into the air. By whom and by what means these wonderful efforts have been accomplished is a mystery sunk too deep in the abyss of time ever to be revealed. To Greece neither country is indebted for any part of its architecture, while she has evidently taken many hints from them. Except at Alexandria and Antinoë, no edifice strictly Grecian appears in Egypt. But we need only compare the monolithic temples of Nubia with those of Mahabali-

Supposed
evidence of
similarity.

Correspond-
ence in de-
tails.

Derivation of
Greek archi-
tecture.

CHAP. I.

poor, the excavations of Guerfeh Hassan with those of Elephanta, and the grottos of Hadjur Silsili, as described by Pococke, with the caverns of Ellora, to be convinced that these sacred monuments of ancient days derived their origin from the same source.*

A resemblance of a corresponding nature has been discovered in the religious usages of the Chinese, compared with those of the Egyptians, particularly in what is called the Feast of Lamps,—a festival annually observed by the latter people, and graphically described by Herodotus in his second book. This coincidence in a ceremony so little likely to suggest itself to the minds of men who had no intercourse with one another, led M. de Guignes to conclude that the first inhabitants of China must have been a colony from Egypt. But it is easy to account for all such facts upon a much more obvious as well as a more rational hypothesis. No one can have failed to remark, that among the most ancient nations there is a great similarity in point of tradition, habits, opinions, knowledge, and history. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Hindoos, and the descendants of Abraham, held many things in common respecting the creation of the world, the great deluge, the dispersion of the human race, and the first institution of laws and religious worship. Hence we may conclude that the general agreement in these particulars, which we contemplate among the more primitive tribes of mankind, ought to be ascribed to the instruction which they had received while as yet they were but one family, or to the traditional tenets which had spread with the diverging lines of their generations, though derived originally from the same primeval source.

But by far the most striking point of resemblance between the inhabitants of Egypt and of India is the institution of castes,—that singular arrangement which places an insuperable barrier between different orders of

* See Legh's Journey in Egypt and Nubia, and Quarterly Review, vol. xvi. p. 18.

Religious usages of China.

Correspondence in ancient traditions.

Institution of castes.

Source of
such orders
of society.

men in the same country, and renders their respective honours, toils, and degradation, strictly hereditary and permanent. Before the invention of letters, indeed, mankind may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy ; whence arose the expedient, founded in a desire to promote the public good, of compelling sons to cultivate the arts which had originated in their family, and to follow the professions whereby their fathers had acquired distinction. In allusion to the four classes into which the natives are divided, the Hindoos maintain that, from the mouth of their god Brama issued a priest, from the arm came forth a soldier, from the thigh proceeded a husbandman, and from his feet sprang the servile multitude. The narrative of Herodotus bears evidence to the same institution at an early period among the Egyptians. He indeed divides the fourth caste into several subordinate sections,—tradesmen, shepherds, interpreters, and pilots,—and thereby presents the appearance of a still more minute distinction than prevailed in the East ; but his statement, when compared with that of Diodorus Siculus at a later epoch, removes every shadow of doubt with regard to the identity of the principle from which this political arrangement must have originally proceeded. The last-named historian reduces the orders to three,—priests, including men of rank ; the military ; and artisans. It is obvious, however, that as husbandmen and labourers are omitted, we must comprehend in the third grade all the classes who practise those arts which are necessary to the subsistence, the comfort, and the ornament of human life.

We may also mention, as in some degree connected with the division of labour now described, that medical science, even before the days of Herodotus, must have been very carefully studied, if we may draw such a conclusion from the fact that at the period when he wrote one physician was confined to one disease. There are, he adds, a great many who practise this art ; some attend to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head ; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all dis-

Egyptian
castes.

Medical
science.

CHAP. I.

Evidence of civilization.

eases of the intestines ; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.* The historian could not have mentioned a circumstance more characteristic of a people advanced to a high degree of civilisation. Of the Babylonians, among whom he also travelled, he relates that they have no professors of medicine, but that they carry their sick into some public square, with the view of getting advice from any one who may happen to have been afflicted with the same illness. The passengers in general, says he, interrogate the sufferer respecting the nature of his malady, in order that if any one of them has been attacked with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on a third person, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he has known the distemper to be removed. No one may pass by a diseased individual in silence, or without inquiry into the symptoms of his complaint.†

But, to return to the main subject now before us, we may take leave to express our conviction that, in proportion as the antiquities of Egypt shall be brought into a clearer light, the evidence will become more satisfactory in favour of an early intercourse between Hindostan and the upper regions of the Nile. It is already ascertained that the arts, as practised in the Thebaid, and even in the neighbourhood of Memphis, must have descended from Ethiopia,—the style of sculpture in the latter bearing a more ancient aspect than any specimen of that kind of workmanship hitherto discovered below the cataracts. The temples, too, on the banks of the river above these falls, bear a closer resemblance to those of India than the corresponding edifices in the lower parts of the country, while they exhibit the undoubted marks of a more remote antiquity. The same conclusion is farther supported by the celebrity which the Ethiopians had acquired in the earliest age that tradition or poetry has revealed to us. The annals of the Egyptian priests

Intercourse
between
India and
Egypt.Antiquity of
Thebes.

* Herodotus, Euterpe, chap. 84.

† Clio, chap. 197.

were full of them. The nations of Asia, in like manner, on the Tigris and Euphrates, mingled Ethiopian legends with the songs which commemorated the exploits of their own heroes. At a time, too, when the Greeks scarcely knew Italy or Sicily by name, the virtues, the civilisation, and the mythology of the Ethiopians, supplied to their poets a subject of lofty description. Homer, both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, relates that Jupiter, at a certain season of the year, departed from his chosen seat on Olympus to visit this remote and accomplished people. For twelve days the god was absent in their pious and hospitable region. It is probable that some annual procession of the priests of Ammon up the Nile, to the primitive scene of their worship, was the groundwork of this legend adopted into the popular creed of the older Greeks. Diodorus himself expresses a similar opinion, when he states that the Ethiopians were said to be the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn assemblies, and of all the honours paid to the gods; in other words, that they were the religious parents of the Egyptians, to whom the countrymen of Homer and Hesiod looked up as to their instructors in sacred things, as well as in the principles of civil polity. It has therefore been thought probable that ancient Meröe was the original seat of the religion, the political institutions, the arts, and the letters, which afterwards shed so bright a lustre on the kingdom of the Pharaohs.*

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of Egypt than that the same people who distinguished themselves by an early progress in civilisation, and who erected works which have survived the conquests of Persia, the triumphs of Roman art, and all the architectural labours of Christianity, should have degraded their fine genius by the worship of four-footed beasts, and even of disgusting reptiles. The world does not present a more humbling contrast between the natural powers of intellect and the debasing effect of superstition. Among the

Greek
allusions.

Mythological
traditions.

Ethiopian
origin of the
Egyptians.

* Heeren's Ideas on the Politics and Commerce of Ancient Nations.

CHAP. I.

Contrast of
the Jews.

Comparison
with the
Egyptians.

Durable
nature of
their build-
ings.

Jews, on the other hand,—a people much less elevated by science and mechanical knowledge,—we find a sublime system of theology, and a ritual which, if not strictly entitled to the appellation of a reasonable service, was yet comparatively pure in its ordinances, and still farther refined by a lofty and spiritual import. It has been said of the Hebrews, that they were men in religion, and children in every thing else. This observation may be reversed in the case of the Egyptians ; for, while in the greater number of those pursuits which give dignity to the human mind, and perpetuate the glories of civilized life, they made a progress which set all rivalry at defiance,—in their notions and adoration of the invisible powers who preside over the destinies of man, they manifested the imbecility, the ignorance, and the credulity of childhood.

In reviewing the annals of the great nations of antiquity, it is interesting to observe that nearly all the knowledge we possess of their manners and institutions may be attributed to the choice they made of a material for building. As the rise of Egyptian power and wisdom preceded a long time the era of letters, the history of the more ancient kings, must have been lost, had the architectural monuments of the former people not been constructed of more imperishable substances than were to be found in the alluvial plains of Asia. In connexion with these reflections, it may not be unreasonable to express a hope, that the study of hieroglyphics will, one day, so far dispel the darkness which hangs over the annals and chronology of Egypt as to enable the historian to ascertain at least the order of events and the succession of monarchs.

CHAPTER II.

Physical Properties and Geographical Distribution of Egypt.

General Description of Egypt—Extent of its Surface—Opinions as to the Source of the Nile—Egypt the Gift of the River—Depth of the Soil—Attempts to ascertain the Mean Rate of Deposition—Opinions of Shaw, Savary, Volney, and Bruce—Speculations of the French Philosophers—Proof that Egypt has acquired an Elevation of Surface—Fear of Dr Shaw in regard to the eventual Sterility of the Land—Constancy of the Inundations—Frauds by the Government—Qualities of the Water—Analysis of the Mud—Accident witnessed by Belzoni—Seasons in Egypt—Heat—Infrequency of Rain—The Winds, Simoom—The Political Geography of Egypt—Mouths of the Nile—Natron Lakes—Waterless River.

THE physical qualities of Egypt are not less remarkable CHAP. II.
than its stupendous works of art and its early civilisation. It presents itself to the eye of the traveller as an immense valley, extending nearly 600 miles in length, and hemmed in on either side by a ridge of hills and a vast expanse of desert. Viewed as an alluvial basin, it owes its existence entirely to the Nile, which flows through it from south to north, conveying annually to the inhabitants the main source of their agricultural wealth, salubrity to their climate, and beauty to their landscape. The breadth of the cultivable soil varies, of course, according to the direction of the rocky barriers by which its limits are determined,—spreading at some parts into a spacious plain, while at others it contracts its dimensions to less than two leagues. The mean width has been estimated at twenty-seven miles; and hence, including the whole area from the shores of the Delta to

Physical character of Egypt.
Basin of the Nile.

CHAP. II.

the first cataract, the extent of land capable of bearing crops has been reckoned about ten millions of acres.

The Nile, as if it were doomed for ever to share the obscurity which covers the ancient history of the land to which it ministers, still conceals its true sources from the eager curiosity of modern science. The question which was agitated in the age of the Ptolemies has not yet been solved ; and although 2000 years have elapsed since Eratosthenes published his conjectures as to the origin of the principal branch, we possess not more satisfactory knowledge on that particular point than was enjoyed in his days by the philosophers of Alexandria. The repeated failures, which had already attended the various attempts to discover its fountains, convinced the geographers of Greece and Rome that success was impossible, and that it was the will of the gods to conceal from all generations this great secret of nature. Homer, in language sufficiently ambiguous, describes it as a stream descending from heaven. Herodotus made inquiry with regard to its commencement, but soon saw reason to relinquish the attempt as altogether fruitless. Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Philadelphus engaged in the same undertaking, and despatched persons well qualified by their knowledge for the arduous task, but who, nevertheless, like the great father of history himself, travelled and inquired in vain. Pomponius Mela was doubtful whether it did not rise in the country of the Antipodes. Pliny traced it in imagination to a mountain in the Lower Mauritania ; while Euthemenes was of opinion that it proceeded from the borders of the Atlantic, and penetrated through the heart of Africa, dividing it into two continents. Virgil seems to have favoured an hypothesis, which also found supporters at a later period, that the Nile proceeded from the East, and might be identified with one of the great rivers of Asia.

Obscurity as
to the source
of the Nile.Unsuccessful
attempts to
discover it.Royal com-
missions.Notices of
the Poets.

“ Quaque pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget,
 Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fœundat arena,
 Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
 Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.” — *Geora.* iv. 220

" And where the stream from India's swarthy sons
 Close on the verge of quiver'd Persia runs,
 Broods o'er green Egypt with dark wave of mud,
 And pours through many a mouth its branching flood."

CHAP. II.

SOTHEBY.

Lucan indulges in his usual mysticism, and appears ^{Lucan and} _{Lucretius.} satisfied that, by a decree of the Fates, the glory of no nation will ever be increased by drawing aside the veil in which the Naiads of this mighty stream have been pleased to conceal themselves. The conceptions of Lucretius, the poet of physical nature, were perhaps more correct, although obviously founded upon a fortunate conjecture rather than derived from actual research.

" Ille ex æstiferâ parti venit amnis, ab Austro,
 Inter nigra virûm, percoctaque secla calore,
 Exoriens penitus mediâ ab regione diei."—Lib. vi. 721.

" While rolls the Nile adverse,
 Full from the South, from realms of torrid heat,—
 Haunts of the Ethiop tribes; yet far beyond,
 First bubbling distant o'er the burning line."—GOOD.

It cannot have escaped notice that the judgment formed ^{Herodotus.} by Herodotus with respect to the course of this celebrated river coincides, in a great degree, with the conclusions held by many modern authors. He remarks that, without including the section between Syene and the Mediterranean, the progress of the Nile is known to the extent of four months' journey, partly by land and partly by water. There is no doubt, he adds, that it rises in the west; but beyond a certain people, whom he calls the Automolians, he admits that all is uncertainty, this portion of Africa being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.*

It is no longer disputed that the left branch, the Bahr el Abiad or White River, constitutes the principal body of the Nile, and that it flows towards Egypt from the west or south-west. Mr Browne was informed that it

The White
Nile.

* Euterpe, 28-35.

CHAP. II. issues from a lofty ridge situated to the south of Darfûr, called in the language of the country Gebel el Kumri or Mountains of the Moon. But it is important to observe that the south winds are there the hottest and driest of any, and bring along with them thick clouds of dust. This shows that there is no high chain within a great distance in the direction now described ; for the winds, before they can be possessed of such qualities, must sweep over a great extent of sandy desert.

Mountains of the Moon.
Elements of consideration.

Nor is it a slight circumstance, in weighing the evidence on both sides of this question, to be reminded that the quantity of mud brought down by the Nile cannot be washed annually from the rocky channel of a mountain-torrent. This fact was employed by Bruce as the basis of his argument against those writers who ascribe the increase of the Delta to the depositions of the river, and was obtained by personal observation of the Bahr el Azrek, in its course through the greater part of Abyssinia. It is therefore certain that the White River cuts a passage through a considerable extent of rich soil before it approaches the granitic range which bounds the western extremity of Nubia. The tropical rains collect on the table-lands of the interior, where they form immense sheets of water or temporary lakes. When these have reached a level high enough to overflow the boundaries of their basins, they suddenly send down into the rivers an enormous volume of fluid impregnated with the soft earth over which it has for some time stagnated. Hence the momentary pauses and sudden renewals in the rise of the Nile,—hence, too, the abundance of fertilizing slime, which is never found so copious in the waters of rivers that owe their increase solely to the direct influence of the rains.*

Intermediate country.
Theory of the annual overflow of the Nile.

There is a fact, however, which ought not to be omitted, as being of some value in the determination of the problem now before us ; namely, that the White River begins to swell three or four weeks before the Abyssinian

* Malte-Brun, vol. iv. p. 8.

branch receives any accession of water. This may be thought to indicate that the source of the Bahr el Abiad must be farther south than the springs which Bruce reached in the meadows of Geesh ; for it is well known that the rainy season in every part of the torrid zone accompanies the vertical position of the sun. But from these considerations, perhaps, as also from many others which might be adduced, we ought only to conclude that the most learned geographers are still very much in the dark relative to the origin of the magnificent stream to which Africa owes its chief distinction, as well as with regard to the geological phenomena of that remarkable kingdom, from which the civil historian derives his clearest views of the primitive state of the western world.

CHAP. II.
Natural
indications.

Extent of
trustworthy
knowledge
on the sub-
ject.

It is an observation as old as the days of Herodotus, that Egypt is the gift of the Nile. This historian imagined that all the lower division of the country was formerly a deep bay or arm of the sea, and that it had been gradually filled up by depositions from the river. He illustrates his reasoning on this subject by supposing that the present appearance of the Red Sea resembles exactly the aspect which Egypt must have exhibited in its original state ; and that, if the Nile by any means were admitted to flow into the Arabian Gulf, it would, in the course of twenty thousand years, convey into it such a quantity of earth as would raise its bed to the level of the surrounding coast. I am of opinion, he subjoins, that this might take place even within ten thousand years ; why then might not a bay still more spacious than this be choked up with mud, in the time which passed before our age, by a stream so great and powerful ?*

Dependence
of Egypt on
the Nile.

The men of science who accompanied the French expedition into Egypt undertook to measure the depth of alluvial matter which has been actually deposited by the river. By sinking pits at different intervals, both on its banks and at the outer edge of the alluvial stratum, they

French
Savana.

* Euterpe, chap. 11.

CHAP. II.

Measure-
ments of the
alluvial soil.

ascertained satisfactorily,—first, that the surface of the soil slopes downward from the margin of the stream to the foot of the hills ; secondly, that the thickness of the deposite is generally about ten feet near the river, and decreases gradually as it recedes from it ; and, thirdly, that beneath the mud there is a bed of sand analogous to the substance which has at all times been brought down by the current. This convex form assumed by the surface of the valley is not peculiar to Egypt,—being common to the banks of all great rivers where the quantity of soil transported by their waters is greater than that which is washed down by rain from the neighbouring mountains. The plains which skirt the Mississippi and the Ganges present in many parts an example of the same phenomenon.

Probable
amount of
annual de-
posit.Opinion of
Herodotus.

Present rise.

An attempt has likewise been made to ascertain the rate of this annual deposition, and thereby to measure the depth of soil which has been conferred upon the valley of Egypt by the action of its river. But on no point are travellers less agreed than with regard to the change of level and the increase of land on the seacoast. Dr Shaw and M. Savary take a position on the one side, and are resolutely opposed by Bruce and Volney on the other. Herodotus informs us, that, in the reign of Mœris, if the Nile rose to the height of eight cubits, all the lands of Egypt were sufficiently watered ; but that in his own time,—not quite nine hundred years later,—the country was not covered with a less depth than fifteen or sixteen cubits. The additional elevation, therefore, was equal to seven cubits at the least, or a hundred and twenty-six inches, in the course of nine hundred years. “But at present,” says Dr Shaw, “the river must rise to the height of twenty cubits—and it usually rises to twenty-four—before the whole country is overflowed. Since the time, therefore, of Mœris, Egypt has gained new soil to the depth of two hundred and thirty inches. And if we look back from the reign of that prince to the time of the Deluge, and reckon the interval by the same proportion, we shall find that the

whole perpendicular accession of the soil, from the event now mentioned to A. D. 1721, must be 500 inches ; in other words, the land of Egypt has gained 41 feet 8 inches of soil in 4072 years. Thus, in process of time, the whole country may be raised to such a height that the river will not be able to overflow its banks ; and Egypt consequently, from being the most fertile, will, for want of the annual inundation, become one of the most barren parts of the universe.*

Ultimate effects of annual deposition.

Were it possible to determine the mean rate of accumulation, a species of chronometer would be thereby obtained for measuring the lapse of time which has passed since any monument or other work of art in the neighbourhood of the river was originally founded. In applying this principle, it is not necessary to assume any thing more than that the building in question was not placed by its architect under the level of the river at its ordinary inundations,—a postulatum which, in regard to palaces, temples, and statues, will be most readily granted. Proceeding on this ground, the French philosophers hazarded a conjecture respecting ■ number of dates, of which the following are some of the most remarkable :—

1. The depth of the soil round the colossal statue of Memnon, at Thebes, gives only 0.106 of a mètre (less than four inches) as the rate of accumulation in a century, while the mean of several observations made in the valley of Lower Egypt gives 0.126 of a mètre, or rather more than four inches. But the basis of the statue of Memnon was certainly raised above the level of the inundation by being placed on an artificial mound ; and excavations made near it show that the original height of that terrace was six mètres (19.686 feet) above the level of the soil. A similar result is obtained from examining the foundations of the palace at Luxor. Taking, therefore, 0.126 of a mètre, the mean secular augmentation of the soil, as a divisor, the quotient, 4760,

Value of such calculation.

* Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. p. 234.

CHAP. II.

Date of the foundation of Thebes.

gives the number of years which have elapsed since the foundation of Thebes was laid. This date, which of course can only be considered as a very imperfect approximation to the truth, carries the origin of that celebrated metropolis as far back as 2960 years before Christ, and consequently 612 years before the Deluge, according to the reckoning of the modern Jews. But the numbers given by them differ materially from those of the Samaritan text and the Septuagint version ; which, carrying the Deluge back to the year 3716 before Christ, make an interval of seven centuries and a half between the flood and the building of Thebes. Though no distinct account of the age of that city is to be discovered in the Greek historians, it is clear from Diodorus that they believed it to have been founded at a very remote period.*

Obelisk of Luxor.

2. The deposition made at the foot of the obelisk of Luxor indicates that it was erected fourteen hundred years before the Christian era.

Siout Cause-way.

3. The causeway which crosses the plain of Siout furnishes a similar ground for supposing that it must have been constructed twelve hundred years prior to the same epoch.

Pillar at Heliopolis.

4. The pillar at Heliopolis, six miles from Cairo, appears, from evidence strictly analogous, to have been raised about the period just specified. But as the waters drain off more slowly in the Delta than in Upper Egypt, the accumulation of alluvial soil is more rapid there than higher up the stream ; whence it follows that the foundations of ancient buildings in the former district are at as great a depth below the surface as those of much greater antiquity in the Middle and Upper provinces. It is obvious, however, that, to form these calculations with such accuracy as would render them less liable to dispute, more time and observation are

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 15, ἀμφισβητεῖται δε ἡ κτίσις της πόλεως ταῦτης, ὃν μονον πάρα τοις συγγραφενσιν, ἀλλα και πιο ἀυτοις τοις πατ' Αίγυπτον ιερεύσι.

requisite than could be given by the French in the short period during which they continued in undisturbed possession of the country. There is one general and important consequence arising from their inquiries, which can hardly be either overlooked or denied ; namely, that the dates thus obtained are as remote from the extravagant chronology of the ancient Egyptians as they are consistent with the testimony of history, both sacred and profane, with regard to the early civilisation of that interesting people.*

CHAP. II.

Necessity for
further in-
vestigation.

But his reliance on such conclusions will be greatly diminished when the reader calls to mind that it is no longer possible to ascertain, in the first place, whether the measures referred to by the ancient historians were in all cases of the same standard ; and, secondly, whether the deposition of soil in the Egyptian valley did not proceed more rapidly in early times than it does in our days, or even than it has done ever since its effects first became an object of philosophical curiosity. That the level of the land has been raised, and its extent towards the sea greatly increased since the age of Herodotus, we might safely infer, as well from the great infusion of earthy matter which is held in suspension by the Nile when in a state of flood, as from the analogous operation of all large rivers, both in the old continents and in the new. There is, in truth, no good reason for questioning the fact mentioned by Dr Shaw, that the mud of Ethiopia has been detected by soundings at the distance of not less than twenty leagues from the coast of the Delta.

Change of
level of the
land.

But there is not any substantial ground for apprehending, with the author just named, that in process of time the whole country may be raised to such a height

Unsubstan-
tial appre-
hensions.

* See article "Egypt" in *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The grounds which may be alleged for giving a preference in point of chronology to the Samaritan text, or even to the Septuagint, and the singular approximation to the former, resulting from a mean taken between it, the Hindoo, and the Chinese epochs, are ably stated by Klaproth in his *Asia Polyglotta*, 25-29.

CHAP. II. that the river will no longer overflow its banks ; and consequently that Egypt, instead of being the most fertile, will, for want of the annual inundation, become one of the most barren parts of the globe. The fears of the learned traveller might have been removed by the following reflections. As the formation of land in the Delta proceeds at a quicker rate than in the higher parts of the basin, the issue of water into the sea becomes every year less rapid, and consequently less copious ; the current is retarded by the accumulation of mud ; the mouths are successively choked by the increasing masses of sand and soil ; and hence, in the course of ages, the stream, creating a barrier against its own escape, is thrown back upon the more elevated portion of the valley, and becomes the willing servant of the agriculturist from Rosetta to the Cataracts. The same opinion is expressed by Lucretius in the following verses :—

*“ Est quoque, uti possit magnus congestus arenæ
Fluctibus aversis oppilare ostia contra,
Cùm mare permotum ventis ruit intus arenam :
Quo sit uti pacto liber minus exitus amni,
Et proclivus item fiat minus impetus undis.”*

Lib. vi. v. 724.

*“ Then ocean, haply, by the undevious breeze
Blown up its channel, heaves with every wave
Heaps of high sands, and dams its wonted course :
Whence narrower, too, its exit to the main,
And with less force, the tardy stream descends.”*

Former irriga-
tion of
Nubia.

While this cause continues to operate in checking the velocity of the inundation in the northern division of the country, the entrance of the river at Philœ is gradually facilitated by the removal of those obstructions which, in ancient times, secured to Nubia the advantages of an annual irrigation such as Egypt now enjoys, and which still partially oppose the motion of the descending flood. The traveller discovers on both sides of the Nubian valley many traces of an extended cultivation which no longer exists. The ridge of rocks that formerly crossed the line of the river, and gave rise to

the magnificent falls, the sound of which was heard at CHAP. II.
the distance of many leagues, and stunned the neighbouring inhabitants, has been insensibly worn down by Diminution of the falls. the action of the rushing water, and presents in these days only a few tokens of its original extent. A similar effect, which time will produce on the cliffs of Niagara, Corresponding changes in America. will be attended with a similar result on the chain of lakes that terminate in Ontario,—the contents of which will at length find their way to the ocean along the bed of the St Lawrence. In the remote ages of the future, the immense valleys now occupied by Superior, Michigan, Erie, and those other inland seas which form so striking a feature in North America, will be covered with flocks, herds, and an agricultural population, and only watered by a fine river passing through their centre. In this way the interior of every continent is imperceptibly drained, while new tracts of alluvial land are added to its extremities.

That Egypt was raised and augmented in the manner described above, is rendered manifest by a variety of considerations. It is particularly deserving of notice, as suggested by Dr Shaw and confirmed by the French, that whereas the soil of other level countries is usually of the same depth, we find it in Egypt to vary in proportion to its distance from the river,—being in some places near the banks more than thirty feet, while at the extremity of the inundation it does not exceed six inches. Another circumstance which fortifies the same conclusion, is the practice, long since become necessary, of raising mounds to protect the cities from the violence of the waters. It is not to be imagined that the natives, accustomed to the annual swelling of their river, would build their towns within the limits even of its greatest elevation. On the contrary, it is believed that they were wont to place them on artificial eminences, to guard against the inconvenience of the summer flood, and particularly to exempt from its ravages their temples and public monuments. But it is every where admitted, that some of the finest of their ancient towns

Evidence of such a change in Egypt.

Position of ancient cities.

CHAP. II. are at present under the level of the inundation, while
 Protection of the most laborious efforts have in other parts become
 artificial embankments. indispensable to prevent, by embanking, the destruction
 of their sacred buildings. Memphis, it is presumed, has
 been covered by the increasing soil, after having been
 abandoned by its inhabitants, who had found the use of
 mounds unavailing. Bubastis, when about to fall a prey
 to the same destroyer, was rebuilt on higher ground ;
 but the beautiful temple, as it could not be removed,
 was left in its original position, and was accordingly
 looked down upon from every part of the new city.
 Heliopolis, in like manner, as we are informed by Strabo,
 was erected upon an eminence : at present the land
 is elevated around it to such a degree that it appears
 situated in a plain, which, moreover, is inundated every
 year to the depth of six or eight feet.*

Cause of
this annual
change.

Ancient
knowledge
of these.

This source of fertility to Egypt depends exclusively, as every reader knows, upon the periodical rains which drench the table-land of Abyssinia and the mountainous country which stretches from it towards the south and west. The ancients, some of whom indeed entertained very absurd notions respecting this phenomenon, were generally in the right as to its physical cause,—expressing their belief that the annual overflow of the Nile was closely connected with the climate of Ethiopia, that receptacle of clouds and vapour. Plutarch states most distinctly, that the increase of the river is owing to the rains which fall there. Even the Arabs had arrived at the same conclusion long before any European found his way into the country.† More than seven hundred years ago, a failure in the inundation was announced to the farmers of Egypt by a clerical envoy from the chief city of Ethiopia ; who, after having stated that the season in the hill country had been unusually dry, advised them to expect and prepare for the unwonted lowness of the Nile, which actually occurred.

* Shaw, vol. ii. p. 229.

† History of Egypt by Abdollatiph, quoted by Shaw, vol. ii. p. 215.

It is impossible to find any where among terrestrial objects a more striking instance of the stability of the laws of nature than the periodical rise and fall of this mighty river. We know, by the testimony of the ancients, that its inundations have been the same, with respect at least to their season and duration, for thousands of years; which, as Humboldt remarks, is a proof well worthy of attention, that the mean state of humidity and temperature does not vary in that vast basin.* The rise of the water is so regular, that the inhabitants of Lower Egypt look for its arrival with the same degree of confidence as if the blessings which it brings along with it depended upon causes within their own control.

CHAP. II
Stability of
the laws of
nature.

The value attached to this gift of nature is esteemed Main source of public revenue. so great as to be made the subject of political regulation, and the main source of public revenue. When it rises to sixteen cubits, the prosperity of the country and the wealth of the exchequer are secure. But, unfortunately, influenced by avaricious motives, the power of a despotic Deceptive policy of modern rulers. government is employed to mislead their own people in the first instance, and, through that channel, the more scientific nations of Europe, with regard to the actual height of the inundation. It has been suspected that the notices issued by the guardians of the Mekyas, or Nilometer, have a reference to the taxes which the ruler of Egypt intends to levy, rather than to the real increase of the fertilizing fluid from which they are to be derived. It was first suspected by Niebuhr, and afterwards fully ascertained by the French, that the number of cubits announced in the daily proclamation are not to be relied upon. The real state of the inundation is concealed for political purposes; and as a proof of this it is mentioned by M. Girard, that, in 1801, when the public crier gave notice that the water had attained twenty-three cubits two inches, it stood in reality at only eighteen cubits. Hence the difficulty of obtaining an accurate statement

Evidences of
false state-
ments.

* Personal Narrative, vol. iv. p. 372

CHAP. II.

on this head, and the impossibility of comparing with suitable exactness the fluctuations of the river in ancient and modern times.

Natural temptation to worship the Nile.

Considering how much the inhabitants owe to the Nile, it is not surprising that in rude ages they should have been induced to make it an object of worship. Not only does it supersede the labour of the plough and the necessity of collecting manure, but it also supplies an abundance of that element which, every where most necessary to human existence, is to them at once a medicine and a luxury. The Egyptian, in short, like the Hindoo, finds his chief solace in his beloved river. Its water is preferred to the most costly beverage ; he even creates an artificial thirst, that he may enjoy the delight of quenching it ; and, when languishing under disease, he looks forward to the approaching inundation as the season of renovated health and vigour. Nor is this predilection to be ascribed to bigotry or ignorance, for we find that Europeans are equally loud in their eulogies on the agreeable and salubrious qualities of the Nile.

Attraction of Giovanni Finati, for example, who was no stranger to the limpid streams of other lands, sighed for the opportunity of returning to Cairo, that he might once more drink its delicious water, and breathe its mild atmosphere. Maillet, too, a writer of good credit, remarks, that it is among waters what champagne is among wines. The Mussulmans themselves acknowledge that if their prophet Mohammed had tasted it, he would have supplicated Heaven for a terrestrial immortality that he might enjoy it for ever.

Festival of the Copts.

The Copts, with the feeling natural to Christians of the Greek communion, have fixed on the 24th of June, the festival of St John, as the day which affords the first decisive token of the annual flood. Travellers, however, inform us that, in ordinary years, it is not till the first week in July the rise can be distinctly marked. At a much earlier part of the season, it is true, there is a temporary swell in the current, occasioned by partial rains which fall within the tropics soon after the vernal

equinox ; though the real inundation does not commence till the period already mentioned, and even then very imperceptibly. By the middle of August it has reached half its elevation, but it is not at the highest till towards the last days of September. It then continues stationary about two weeks, when it begins gradually to subside. By the 10th of November it has fallen one-half, from which period it diminishes very slowly till the 15th or 16th of the following May, when it is understood to have reached its lowest ebb. During the increase, the water first acquires a green colour, of rather a deep tint ; and, after thirty or forty days, this is succeeded by a brownish red. These changes are probably owing to the augmentations it receives from different temporary lakes in succession, or from the rains which fall at various distances on the table-lands in the interior of Africa.

The mud of the Nile upon analysis gives nearly one-half of argillaceous earth, with about one-fourth of carbonate of lime, the remainder consisting of water, oxide of iron, and carbonate of magnesia. On the very banks the slime is mixed with much sand, which it loses in proportion as it is carried farther from the river ; so that at a certain distance it consists almost entirely of pure argil. This substance is employed in several arts among the Egyptians. It is formed into excellent bricks, as well as into a variety of vessels for domestic purposes, and is also used in the manufacture of tobacco-pipes. Glassmakers employ it in the construction of their furnaces, and the country-people cover their houses with it. As it contains principles favourable to vegetation, the cultivators consider it a sufficient manure for such places as have not been saturated by the overflowing stream.

Although the river is almost without exception the minister of good to Egypt, there are yet cases in which the excess of its waters has occasioned no small loss both of life and property. In September 1818, Belzoni witnessed a deplorable scene, owing to its having risen

CHAP. II.
Highest
elevation of
the innunda-
tion.

Occasional
loss and in-
jury.

CHAP. II. three feet and a half above the highest mark left by the former inundation. Ascending with uncommon rapidity, it carried off several villages, and some hundreds of their inhabitants. Expecting an unusual rise, in consequence of the scarcity of water the preceding season, the Arabs had had recourse to their wonted expedient of erecting fences of mud and reeds round the villages, to keep the water from their houses ; but in this instance the pressure of the flood baffled all their efforts. Their cottages, built of earth, could not stand one moment against the current, but were, as soon as the water touched them, levelled with the ground. The rapid stream carried off all that was before it ; and the inhabitants of all ages, with their corn and cattle, were washed away in an instant.

Ancient provision against floods.

It was probably to prevent the occurrence of such catastrophes, as well as to turn to a beneficial purpose the superfluous waters of the Nile, that the Lake of Mœris, and other similar receptacles, were formed by the ancient kings of Egypt. Although the valley of Fayoum supplied a natural basin for this grand reservoir, yet as the canal which connected it with the river, together with the numerous dams necessary to regulate the current during the rise and fall of the inundation, were the fruit of human labour, we shall postpone the description of it till we come to the chapter on the Works of Ancient Art.

Source of fertility.

We have already remarked that Egypt is indebted for her rich harvests to the mould which is deposited by the stream during the annual flood. As soon as the waters retire the cultivation of the ground commences. If the soil has imbibed the requisite quantity of moisture, the process of agriculture is neither difficult nor tedious. The seed is scattered over the soft surface, and vegetation, which almost immediately succeeds, goes on with great rapidity. Where the land has been only partially inundated recourse is had to irrigation, by means of which many species of vegetables are raised even during the dry season. Harvest follows at the

Mode of cultivation.

distance of six or eight weeks, according to the different kinds of grain,—leaving time in most cases for a succession of crops wherever there is a full command of water. CHAP. II.
Succession of seasons.
The cold season begins with December, and continues about two months. Spring appears in the first days of February, when the fruit-trees blossom, and the atmosphere acquires a delightful warmth. The period of summer may be said to commence in June, and to end at the close of September, although the transition from the one season to the other is so gradual that it is impossible to define the exact limits of either. During Hot season. these four months the heat is intense; the fields to which the swelling river has not attained are parched like a desert, and no green thing is seen but such as are produced by artificial irrigation. Autumn, which is only marked by a slight diminution of temperature, commences about the middle of October, when the leaves fall, and the Nile retires within its channel; and till the approach of that season which, from its relation to the rest of the year, must be called winter, the face of the country resembles a beautiful meadow diversified with lively colours. In this manner is realized the description of Volney, who observed that Egypt assumed in succession the appearances of an ocean of fresh water, of a miry morass, of a green level plain, and of a parched desert of sand and dust.*

For various reasons, especially the want of trees and the low elevation of the whole plain from Rosetta to Assouan, the average degree of heat in Egypt is considerably greater than in many other countries situated in the same latitude. In summer, as long as the sun remains above the horizon, the atmosphere is inflamed, the sky is cloudless and sparkling, and the heat is rendered supportable only by the profuse perspiration which it excites. At Cairo, the medium temperature during that period has been estimated at ninety-two degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. On some occasions it has been

Average heat
of Egypt.

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 10.

CHAP. II.

Extreme temperature at Cairo.

known to rise as high as one hundred and twelve degrees ; but such an intensity of heat is usually of short continuance, and almost never experienced except in the more confined districts of the Saïd. At sunset the wind falls, the air becomes cooler, and the vapour suspended in the atmosphere during the day is deposited in an abundant supply of dew. As the evening advances a thin mist darkens the horizon, and spreads over the watery grounds ; but during the night it becomes scarcely perceptible, and in the morning, when the sun has attained a certain elevation, it gradually ascends in the form of flaky clouds.

Effects of evaporation.

The copious evaporation, which necessarily takes place in a country distinguished one-half of the year by excessive heat and moisture, is hardly ever restored to the soil in the shape of rain. The clouds, it is true, sometimes collect in dark masses, and the atmosphere exhibits all the meteorological symptoms which in other climates indicate a copious shower ; but such a phenomenon is very rare in Egypt. When it does occur, the fall continues only a few minutes, and seems counteracted by some affinities, chemical or electrical, too powerful to be overcome by the ordinary principle of gravity. In the Delta rain is occasionally seen during the cool part of the year ; but above Cairo it is seldom or never witnessed at

Thunder and lightning.

any season. Thunder and lightning are still more infrequent, and are, at the same time, so completely divested of their terrific qualities, that the Egyptians never associate with them the idea of destructive force, and are quite unable to comprehend how they should ever be accompanied with either fear or injury. Storms of hail descending from the hills of Syria, and sweeping along the plains of Palestine, are sometimes known to reach the confines of Egypt. But the production of ice is so extremely uncommon, that on one occasion, when it appeared in the low country, the Arabs collected it with the greatest care, and sold it at a high price to the European merchants of Alexandria.

Hail.

The course of the wind, so variable in our climate, is almost strictly periodical on the banks of the Nile. In

point both of strength and duration, the northerly breezes CHAP. II. predominate,—blowing nearly nine months in the year. They continue with little intermission from May till September; but about the autumnal equinox they veer round to the east, where they remain nearly six weeks with only slight deviations. About the end of February the gale assumes a southerly direction, and fluctuates exceedingly till the close of April, when it again yields for a time to a more powerful current from the eastward.

The southerly winds are the most changeable as well Southerly winds. as the most unhealthy; for it is after traversing the arid sands of Africa, uninterrupted by rivers, lakes, or forests, that they arrive in Egypt fraught with all the noxious exhalations of the desert. At their approach the serene sky becomes black and heavy; the sun loses its splendour, appearing of a dim violet hue; and a light warm breeze is felt, which gradually increases in heat till it almost equals that of an oven. Though no vapour Destructive effects. darkens the air, it becomes so gray and thick with the floating clouds of impalpable sand that it is sometimes necessary to use candles at noonday. Every green leaf is instantly shrivelled, and every thing formed of wood is warped and cracked. The effect of these winds on the animal creation, too, is not less pernicious; sometimes even occasioning immediate death by sudden squalls which attack the victim before he is aware. The breathing becomes quick and difficult, the pores of the skin are closed, and a feverish habit is induced owing to suppressed perspiration. The increasing heat pervades every substance; and water itself, no longer cool, is rendered incapable of mitigating the intolerable sensation by which the whole body is oppressed. Dead silence reigns in the streets; for the inhabitants confine themselves to their houses, in the vain attempt to elude the showers of a dust so fine and penetrating that, according to the oriental expression, it will enter an egg through the pores of the shell.* Appearance of the towns

* Antis' Observations on Egypt. Volney's Travels, vol. ii. p. 61.
Dr Leyden on Egypt, in Murray's Africa

CHAP. II. These are the hot winds of the desert, termed by the Arabs *simoom*, and by the Turks *samiel*, and which have so often proved fatal to whole caravans, and even to large armies. When they continue longer than three days their effects become quite insupportable, especially to persons of a full habit of body. It is remarkable at the same time, that the southerly breeze, which in the spring of the year is attended with an intolerable heat, is during the winter noted above all others for an intense and penetrating cold. In the latter season the rays of the sun fall more obliquely on the desert, and the current of air which descends on Egypt is chilled by the snowy mountains of Abyssinia.

Such are the principal phenomena which characterize the climate of Egypt,—a country in the very atmosphere of which nature seems to have adopted new and singular arrangements. In that region, distinguished by an uncommon regularity of the seasons and of all the changes which the atmosphere presents, these meteorological facts were first ascertained with scientific accuracy. But though the observations of the ancient sages of Thebes and Memphis, engraven on immense masses of granite, have defied the ravages of time and the still more destructive hand of man, we can only view the characters with regret, and lament that a wise and learned people may utterly perish before the monuments of their power and science have entirely passed away.

Egypt is usually divided into Upper and Lower ; the latitude of Cairo presenting in our day the line of demarcation. But besides this distinction there is another of great antiquity, to which frequent allusion is made by the Greek and Roman authors, namely, that of the Delta, the Heptanomis, and the Thebaid. According to this distribution, the first of the provinces just mentioned occupied the coast of the Mediterranean ; the third was the narrow valley of Upper Egypt ; while to the second was allotted the intermediate space, which seems to have been divided into seven districts or cantons. At a later period, when Egypt became subject to the Romans, the Arcadia

Novelty of atmospheric changes.

Sub-division of Egypt.

of that people corresponded nearly to the ancient Heptanomis ; and, about the conclusion of the fourth century, the eastern division of the Delta, between Arabia and the Phatnitic branch of the Nile as high as Heliopolis, was erected into a new province under the name of Augustamnica. In modern times the Arabs have changed the classical appellation of Thebaid into Saïd, or the high country ; the Heptanomis into Vostani ; and the Delta into Bahari, or the maritime district.

The following table exhibits a succinct view of the territorial distribution of Egypt as recognised by modern geographers, and the actual government of the country :—

I.—THE SAÏD, OR UPPER EGYPT

1. Province of Thebes.
2. ——— Djirgeh.
3. ——— Siout.

II.—THE VOSTANI, OR MIDDLE EGYPT.

1. Province of Fayoum.
2. ——— Beni Souef.
3. ——— Minieh.

III.—THE BAHARIA, OR LOWER EGYPT.

1. Province of Bahireh.
2. ——— Rosetta.
3. ——— Damietta.
4. ——— Gharbiyeh.
5. ——— Menouf.
6. ——— Mansoura.
7. ——— Sharkeyeh.

The frequent alteration of terms by nations using different languages, has produced considerable obscurity in geographical details, as well as a most inconvenient variety in the spelling of proper names. The towns which flourished during the different periods of the Persian, Grecian, Roman, and Saracenic dynasties, were not only erected on the sites of more ancient edifices, but, under the Turkish and Mamlouk domination, their positions have been partially changed ; and thus, splendid cities, celebrated in history, have been buried in their own

Alteration
of terms.

CHAP. II CHAP. II CHAP. II
Great natural changes. Great natural changes. Great natural changes.

ruins, and the traveller searches for them in vain even within the circuit of their ancient walls.

Estuaries of the Nile.

Nor is this vicissitude confined to the works of human art. Even the great lineaments of nature undergo a gradual change, and thereby render the descriptions of early authors almost unintelligible to the modern traveller. The mouths of the Nile, for example, have often deserted their channels, and the river has entered the sea at different points. The seven estuaries known to the ancients, were,—1. The Canopic mouth, corresponding to the present outlet from the Lake Etko, or, according to others, that of the Lake of Aboukir or Maadée ; but it is probable that, at one time, it had a communication with the sea at both these places. 2. The Bolbitine mouth at Rosetta. 3. The Sebenitic, probably the opening into the present Lake Burlos. 4. The Phatnitic or Bucolic at Damietta. 5. The Mendesian, which is lost in the Lake Menzaleh, the mouth of which is represented by that of Debeh. 6. The Tanitic or Saitic, which seems to have left some traces of its termination eastward of the Lake Menzaleh, under the modern appellation of Om-Faridjé. The branch of the Nile which conveyed its waters to the sea, corresponds to the canal of Moez, which now loses itself in the lake. 7. The Pelusiac, which seems to be represented by what is now the most easterly mouth of Lake Menzaleh, where the ruins of Pelusium are still visible.*

Changes on the Delta.

Of these communications with the sea, the Nile, it is well known, retains at the present day only the second and the fourth,—the others having been long choked up with mud, or with the earth which falls from the crumbling banks. The cultivation of the Delta has been contracted in a similar proportion ; for in Egypt, wherever the water of the river is withheld, the desert extends or resumes its dominion, covering the finest fields with barren sand and useless shrubs.

* Malte-Brun, vol. iv. p. 23. Mém. sur l'Egypte, vol. i. p. 165.
Mem. sur les Bouches du Nil, par Dubois-Aymé.

Our description of the physical aspect of this singular country would not be complete did we fail to mention the Valley of the Natron Lakes, and that of the Waterless River. In the former of these there is a series of six basins bounded on the one side by a lofty ridge of secondary rocks, which perhaps proves the means of concentrating the saline deposite which has given celebrity to the place. The banks and the waters are covered with crystallizations, consisting of muriate of soda or sea-salt, and of natron or carbonate of soda. When a volume of water contains both these salts, the muriate is the first to crystallize, and the carbonate is afterwards deposited in a separate layer. But, in some instances, the two crystallizations are observed to choose, without any assignable cause, distinct localities in different parts of the same lake.

CHAP. II.

Valley of
Natron
Lakes.

The Waterless River, called by the Arabs *Bahr bela Maieh*, presents itself in a valley which runs parallel to the one just described, and is separated from it only by a line of slightly elevated ground. It has been traced from the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, through the desert country that stretches to the westward of Fayoum. In the sand with which its channel is every where covered, trunks of trees have been found in a state of complete petrifaction, and also the vertebral bone of large fish. Jasper, quartz, and petrosilex, have likewise Minerals. been observed scattered over the surface; and hence some learned persons have thought that these fragments of rock, which do not belong to the contiguous hills, have been conveyed thither by a branch of the Nile, which, it is more than probable, once passed in this direction, and discharged itself into the sea at some distance to the westward of Alexandria. But this question, which belongs more properly to a subsequent part of our volume, will be discussed at some length in connexion with the opinions of those writers who have most recently examined the borders of Lake Moeris.*

* Belzoni, vol. ii. p. 183. Denon, vol. i. p. 224.

CHAPTER III.

Civil History of Ancient Egypt.

Obscurity of Egyptian Annals—Variety of Hypotheses relative to the Origin of the Monarchy—Reign of Menes determined; His Actions; Chronological Tables illustrative of this Subject—Invasion of the Shepherds—Reference to Manetho—His mistake and that of Josephus as to the Israelites—Hatred of Shepherds entertained by the Egyptians in Time of Joseph—The Reign of Meris—Accession of Sesostris; His Exploits; Proofs of his warlike Expedition; the Magnificence of his Buildings; His Epitaph—Invasion by Sabaco the Ethiopian or Abyssinian—By Sennacherib—By Nebuchadnezzar—By Cyrus—And complete Subjugation by Cambyses—The Persian Government—Conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great—Ancient Dynasties—The Ptolemies—The Romans—The Saracens.

CHAP. III. It is our intention in this chapter to give an outline of
Subject. Egyptian history from the earliest times down to the accession of the Saracenic princes,—an epoch at which the power and splendour of the more ancient governments were oppressed by a weight of barbarism which has not yet been removed.

With regard to this interesting subject, we may confidently assert that there is no portion of the remoter annals of the human race more obscure, owing to the want of authentic records, or more perplexed by groundless conjecture and bold speculation. He who begins his inquiries with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, and proposes to sail down the stream of time accompanied and guided by the old historians, soon dis-

covers the numerous obstacles which must impede his course. The ancient authors from whom he seeks information, require of him to carry back his imagination to an era many thousand years prior to the existence of all written deeds ; and they then gravely introduce him to the gods and demigods who had once condescended to dwell on the banks of the Nile, and to govern the fancied inhabitants of that fertile region.

But, to a certain extent at least, the history of ancient Egypt can be placed on more credible grounds, and even be rendered useful for throwing light upon the condition of contemporary kingdoms. We must at once relinquish the regal gods and the thirty-six thousand years of their government, as only the indication perhaps of some physical principle, or, more probably, the expression of a vast astronomical cycle. The Sun, Moon, and other leaders of the celestial host, may, according to the ancient mythology, be supposed to have ruled over Egypt before it became fit for the habitation of mortals ; or the authors of this hypothesis may be thought to have had nothing more serious in view than the gratification of their fancy in the wilds of that *terra incognita*, which, in every quarter of the globe, stretches far beyond the boundaries of authentic record.

As the reign of Menes marks the limits of legitimate inquiry in this interesting field, and as all correct notions of Egyptian chronology must rest upon the determination of the period at which that monarch exercised the supreme power, we shall lay before our readers an abridged view of such opinions on this subject as seem the most worthy of their attention. Here, we need not add, we must confine ourselves to mere results ; it being quite inconsistent both with our limits and our object to enter into the learned arguments by which different authors have laboured to fortify their conclusions. But to those readers who are desirous of entering more deeply into the question, we earnestly recommend the works of Hales and Prichard, the latest and unquestionably the ablest writers on this

CHAP. II.

Deficiencies
of ancient
historians.Value of
Egyptian
history.

Era of Menes.

Limits of our
aim.

CHAP. III. obscure though very important branch of historical inquiry.

Primitive chronology.

Menes, then, began his reign,

* According to Dr Hailes,.....	2412 years B. C.
† Old Chronicle,	2231
‡ Eratosthenes,.....	2220
§ Eusebius	2258
Julius Africanus,....	2218
¶ Dr Prichard,	2214

} or 2262

Uncertainty of tradition.

Early changes on the Nile.

As the actions of this monarch were conveyed to posterity through the uncertain channel of tradition, little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the details. Herodotus informs us that he protected from the inundations of the Nile the ground upon which Memphis was afterwards erected. Before his age the river flowed close under the ridge of hills which border the Libyan desert, whence, as already stated, it is more than probable that a large branch of it made its way through the valley of Fayoum into the Mediterranean. To prevent this deviation, he erected a mound about twelve miles south from the future capital of Egypt ; turned the course of the stream towards the Delta ; and led it to the sea at an equal distance from the elevated land by which on either side the country is bounded. Menes is moreover said to have been a great general ; to have made warlike expeditions into foreign countries ; and to have fallen a prey at last to the voracity of a hippopotamus.

Statement of Josephus.

Among the principal authorities on which the reign of this sovereign has been determined is the following statement of Josephus, who had better means of becoming acquainted with the works of Manetho than were enjoyed by Syncellus, Africanus, or Eusebius. He assures us that Menes lived many years before Abraham,

* New Analysis of Ancient Chronology, vol. iv. p. 418.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 407.

‡ Prichard's Egyptian Antiquities.

§ New Analysis, vol. iv. p. 417.

¶ Egyptian Antiquities, p. 91.

|| Ibid.

and that he ruled more than 1300 years prior to the age of Solomon.* Now the Father of the Faithful was born 2153, and the son of David ascended the throne of Israel 1030 years before the Christian era. These facts, combined with the account given in the Old Chronicle of the dynasty of kings which proceeded from Misraim or Misor, seem to justify the conclusions of modern chronology.

The Greek historian farther mentions, that the priests recited to him, from books, three hundred and thirty sovereigns, successors of Menes; among whom were eighteen Ethiopian princes and one queen called Nitocris. But as none of these monarchs were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, he abstains from encumbering his pages with the unmeaning catalogue of their appellations and titles. He makes one exception in favour of Mœris, famed for the excavation of the lake that still bears his name, and which continues to be regarded as one of the wonders of his ancient dominions.

To assist the recollection of the reader on this rather intricate subject, we shall abridge from the New Analysis of Chronology, a list of the kings who fill up the space between the accession of the first human monarch of Egypt and the death of Mœris :—

CHAP. III.

Old Testa-
ment chro-
nology.The suc-
cession of Menes.Analysis of
chronology.

FIRST DYNASTY, EGYPTIANS, 253 YEARS.

	Y. B. C.
Menes and his successors, ending with Timaus,.....	253—2412

SECOND DYNASTY, SHEPHERD KINGS, 260 YEARS.

1. Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada,	19—2159
2. Baion, Byon, or Babya,	44—2140
3. Apachnes, Pachman, or Ruchma,	37—2096
<i>First Pyramid begun about...</i>	—2095
<i>Abraham visits Egypt about...</i>	—2077
4. Apophes,.....	61—2059
5. Janias or Sethos,	50—1998
6. Assia or Aseth,.....	49—1948
 <i>Expulsion of the Shepherds,</i>	 260—1899

* Jud. Antia. lib. viii.

CHAP. III.

Chronology
of Egyptian
kings.

THIRD DYNASTY, NATIVE KINGS, 251 YEARS.

	Y. B.C.
Alisphragmuthosis, &c.,	27—1899
<i>Joseph appointed Governor or Regent,</i>	4—1872
<i>Jacob's Family settle in Goshen,</i>	215—1863
<i>Death of Joseph,</i>	—1792
Queen Nitocris,	—1742
<i>Exode of the Israelites,</i>	251—1648

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS.

1. Amosis, Tethmosis, or Thummosis,	25—1648
2. Chebron,	13—1623
3. Amenophis I.,	20—1610
4. Amesses,	21—1589
5. Mephres,	12—1567
6. Misphragmuthosis,	25—1554
7. Thmosis or Tethmosis,	9—1528
8. Amenophis II.,	30—1518
9. Orus or Horus,	36—1488
10. Acenchris,	12—1452
11. Rathosis,	9—1440
12. Acencheres I.,	12—1431
13. Acencheres II.,	20—1418
14. Armais of Harmais,	4—1396
15. Ramesses,	1—1394
16. Harmesses,	66—1393
17. Amenophis III. or Mœris,	19—1327
Death of Mœris,	340—1308*

Invasion by
the sheep-
herds.

Narrative of
Manetho.

The most interesting event that occurred during this long interval was the invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, which, according to the chronology we have here adopted, took place two thousand one hundred and fifty-nine years before the birth of Christ. Manetho, the historian already mentioned, has inserted in his work a very intelligible notice of the misfortune which befell his country at that early period ; the accuracy of which cannot be called in question, except in the point where he is supposed to identify the savage invaders from the East with the peaceful family of Jacob who were invited to settle in the Land of Goshen. The hostile spirit

* Vol. ii. p. 418. We have omitted the odd months.

entertained by the Egyptians against their barbarian conquerors continued unabated in the age of the patriarch Joseph, when shepherds were still held as an "abomination,"—a fact which of itself goes far to prove that the celebrated inroad of the Pastoral Kings must have taken place before this favourite son of Jacob was carried as a slave into the house of Potiphar.

Egyptian
hatred of
shepherds.

Passing over Mœris, whose peaceful labours will be Sesostris described hereafter, we arrive at the era of his renowned son, the accomplished and victorious Sesostris. In the history of this prince fiction has exhausted all her powers to darken and exaggerate ; and the little light which might have remained to guide us to the appreciation of facts has been greatly obscured by the clouds of chronological error, which from time to time have spread over his reign.

Diodorus is our principal authority for the warlike achievements of this celebrated monarch. His first expedition after he came to the throne was against the Abyssinians, whom he reduced to the condition of tributaries. He then turned his arms against the nations who dwelt on either shore of the Red Sea, advanced along the Persian Gulf, and finally, if we may trust to the accuracy of this historian, marched at the head of his troops into India, and even crossed the Ganges. Directing his face towards Upper Asia, he next subdued the Assyrians and Medes ; whence, passing to the confines of Europe, he ravaged the territory of the Scythians, until he sustained a reverse at the hands of Timaus, their valiant prince, on the banks of the Phasis. Want of provisions, and the impenetrable nature of the country which defended the approaches to ancient Thrace, compelled him to relinquish his European campaign. He accordingly returned to Egypt in 1299 b.c., being the ninth year of his military enterprise.

His warlike
achievements.

Defeated by
Timaus.

Making due allowance for the exaggeration which never fails to mark the absence of authentic records, we are disposed to maintain that the history of Sesostris cannot be wholly reduced to fiction, nor ascribed entirely to

Trustworthi-
ness of his
history.

CHAP. III.

Evidence of
Herodotus
and Strabo.

the mythological wanderings either of Bacchus or Osiris. We are assured, on the personal evidence of Herodotus and Strabo, that the pillars erected by the Egyptian leader still remained in their days, and even that they had actually inspected such of them as were in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Ethiopia. The inscription which these proud monuments every where bore was to the following effect :—

“ Sesostris, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, subdued this country by his arms.”

Colonization
of Colchis.

Another circumstance corroborative of the general accuracy of the old annalists is, the establishment of an Egyptian colony in the province of Colchis. The descendants of this military association, presenting the dark complexion and woolly hair of Africa, were long distinguishable from the natives of the district among whom they dwelt. Nay, it is possible, we believe, at the present day, to find among the Circassians certain families whose blood might be traced to the soldiers of Sesostris, and whose features still verify the traditional affinity which connects them with the ancient inhabitants of the valley watered by the Nile.

Popular
estimation of
Sesostris.

It is usual, in all countries, to find the fame of a popular monarch increased, not only by having ascribed to him all the heroic deeds which have been transmitted by the chroniclers of the olden time, but also by being regarded in the eyes of the multitude as the founder of all the magnificent palaces and gorgeous temples of which any remains can be traced. On this account it is not improbable that Sesostris, under the several names or titles of Osymandias, Ramesses, Sethosis, and Sethon, has had attributed to him the merit of erecting several splendid edifices which are due to sovereigns of a less imposing celebrity. At all events, it is not doubted by any one that both Memphis and Thebes owed some of their finest structures to the conqueror of Asia ; and it is even recorded by his panegyrists, that the riches and the immense number of prisoners which crowned his successes in the East, enabled him to decorate all the towns of Egypt

Buildings at
Memphis and
Thebes.



KUINS OF THE PALACE AND TOMB OF SESOSTRIS AS THEY APPEARED IN 1801,
Page 55

without exacting from his native subjects any portion of their labour or income. Memphis, the new capital, was enlarged and ornamented with the most profuse expenditure. The statues, the temples, and the obelisks, which adorned it, are described by historians in their most pompous language; but the infelicity of its situation, which exposed it to the inundations of the Nile, has so completely obliterated all traces of its existence as to have created a question among antiquaries as to the precise spot on which it stood. Thebes, on the contrary, which enjoyed a more secure position, and was perhaps built of more lasting materials, displays at the present day the magnificence of her princes, combined with the learning and taste which distinguished her inhabitants.

The Palace, or Sepulchral Temple (for the ruins of

Palace.

the two have been confounded), appears to have been an edifice of exquisite workmanship as well as of vast extent. In front there was a court of immense size; adjoining which arose a fine portico four hundred feet long, the roof of which was supported by figures fifteen cubits in height. This led into another court similar to the first, but still more superb, and adorned with statues of great magnitude, which are said to have represented the king and certain members of his family. Amidst a numerous succession of halls and galleries, the chisel had sculptured with wonderful art the triumphs of the sovereign, the sacrifices which he had offered, the administration of justice in his courts of law, and such other functions as were appropriated to the head of a great nation. But the tomb, properly so called, is especially remarkable for the astronomical emblems which it exhibits. It is encompassed with a golden circle three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference, to represent the number of days comprehended in the year. The rising and setting of the stars are likewise depicted with considerable accuracy, and show that great attention was already paid to the motions and periods of the heavenly bodies. Thus it is rendered manifest that, whatever doubt may exist as to the identity of Sesostris and Osymandias, or in regard to the period at which one or other ascended the throne, the

Decorations.

*Astronomical
emblems.*

*CHAP. III.
Adornment
of Memphis.*

*Its total
destruction.*

CHAP. III.

Early im-
provement
of the arts.Statue of
Osymandias.Undistin-
guished cha-
racter of his
successors.Political
changes.Pharaoh
Necho.

Assyria.

light of civilisation and the improvement of the arts had made great progress in Upper Egypt more than thirteen centuries before the Christian era. The statue of the monarch himself, represented in a sitting posture, was considered by the ancients as the largest in the country. The foot alone was seven cubits in length ; and the following epitaph appropriated this gigantic work of art to the renowned commander whose name it was meant to perpetuate :—

‘ I am Osymandias, King of Kings ; if any one desires to know what a prince I am, and where I lie, let him excel my exploits.’

The successors of this great ruler, for several generations, did not perform any remarkable action, nor allow their ambitious views to extend beyond the limits of their native kingdom. Perhaps it might be said that the power of Egypt was not more than sufficient to defend her own borders against the erratic hordes who constantly threatened her on the east, and the more regular armaments of Abyssinia, which occasionally made an inroad from the south. About 770 b. c. Sabaco the Ethiopian descended the Nile, and drove Anysis from the throne. Sixty years later, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, meditated the conquest of the same country, and had actually entered its territories, when his immense host was destroyed by a Divine visitation.

Disgusted with the weakness or misfortune of their sovereigns, the Egyptians made the experiment of an oligarchy of twelve governors, who directed the administration about fifteen years. But, in 619 b. c., Pharaoh Necho was elevated to an undivided throne. His reign is remarkable for the success he obtained against Jerusalem, which he took, and against the good prince Josiah, whom he slew. He made several attempts to connect, for the purposes of commerce, the Nile with the Red Sea ; and afterwards accomplished what must have been then esteemed the still more arduous enterprise of circumnavigating Africa, from the Strait of Bab-el-mandeb to the Mediterranean.

About this period the Assyrian monarchy, which had acquired an ascendant over all the neighbouring nations,

from the Euphrates to the shores of the Great Sea, became formidable also to Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar on more than one occasion made the weight of his power to be felt on the banks of the Nile ; but the conquest of the whole of that country was reserved for the great Cyrus, who marshalled under his standard nearly all the states of Western Asia. It appears, however, that the liberal policy of this famed warrior restored to the Egyptians, as well as to the Jews, a certain degree of national independence,—a boon which the former were thought to have abused so much that one of the first measures adopted by his successor had for its object their entire and permanent subjugation.

CHAP. III.
Nebuchad-
nezzar.Liberality of
Cyrus.

The effects produced upon Egypt by the victories of Cambyses are too important to be omitted. It should seem that the way was paved for him by the treachery of two great officers, who sought revenge for a personal insult by throwing open the kingdom to a foreign enemy. When, however, the Persian monarch appeared before Pelusium, he found that preparations had been made for a vigorous resistance ; upon which, availing himself of the miserable superstition of the garrison, he placed their sacred animals in front of his army, and advanced to the attack. The city surrendered without opposition. A general engagement, which ensued immediately afterwards, terminated in the total discomfiture of Psammenitus and the reduction of Memphis. The conqueror disgraced his triumph by the most wanton cruelties, and particularly by putting to death the son of the king, together with two thousand individuals of high rank. He also gave vent to his rage against the priests and religion of the country, urged by the suspicion that they were employed to undermine his authority. Regardless of public opinion, he gave orders to slay the bull Apis, an object of the utmost veneration among all classes ; and, because the magistrates and guardians of the temple interposed to prevent this horrible sacrilege, he slew the one and scourged the other. A similar feeling dictated the mad attempt to seize the consecrated fane of Jupiter Ammon, situated in the Greater Oasis. The loss of half

Victories of
Cambyses.Capture of
Memphis.Contempt for
the national
creed.

CHAP. III.
His reverses.

his army, the disaffection of the remainder, and the universal hatred of his new subjects, compelled him to return home, where he soon afterwards became the victim of accident or of conspiracy.

The Persian government, interrupted only by a series of unsuccessful revolts, was maintained in Egypt during more than two hundred years; at the end of which Alexander the Great, who subsequently wrested from the hands of Darius the sceptre of the empire itself, took possession of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, now one of its remotest provinces.

Before we proceed to the history of the Grecian rulers, we shall present a tabular view of the several dynasties from the death of Mœris to the accession of the first Ptolemy.

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS.

	Y. B. C.
1. Sethos, Sesostris, or Osymandias,.....	33—1308
2. Rampses or Pheron,.....	61—1275
3. Cetes, Proteus, or Ramesses,.....	50—1214
4. Amenophis IV,.....	40—1164
5. Rampsinites,.....	42—1124
6. Cheops or Chemmis,.....	50—1082
7. Cephrenes, Cephres, or Sesah,.....	56—1032
8. Mycerinus or Cherinus,.....	10— 976
His death,.....	342— 966

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS.

A chasm,.....	151— 966
1. Bocchoris or Asychis,.....	44— 815
2. Anysis,.....	2— 771
3. Sabacon or So, {	50— 769
Anysis again, {	6— 719
4. Sebecon or Sethos,.....	40— 713
Sennacherib invades Egypt,.....	— 711
End of the period,.....	293— 673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS.

1. Twelve contemporary Kings,.....	15— 673
2. Psammeticus I.,	39— 658
3. Nekus or Pharaoh Necho,.....	16— 619
4. Psammis,.....	6— 603
5. Apries or Pharaoh Hophra,.....	28— 597
6. Amasis,.....	44— 569
Cyrus conquers Egypt,.....	— 535
7. Psammenitus. First Revolt of Egypt (6 mo.)	— 525

EIGHTH DYNASTY, PERSIAN KINGS, 112 YEARS.

	Y. B. C.
1. Cambyses reduces Egypt, { First Persian Administration,	38—525
2. Darius Hystaspes. Second Revolt of Egypt, 3—487	
3. Xerxes reduces Egypt, { Second Persian Administration,	24—484
4. Artaxerxes Longimanus. Third Revolt,..... Reduces Egypt, { Third Persian Administration,	4—460 43—456
Herodotus visits Egypt,.....	—448
5. Darius Nothus. Fourth Revolt,.....	112—413

Persian
dynasty.

NINTH DYNASTY, EGYPTIAN KINGS, 81 YEARS.

1. Amyrtæus,	6—413
2. Pausiris,	6—407
3. Psammeticus II.,.....	6—401
4. Nephereus,	6—395
5. Acoris,.....	14—389
6. Nectanebus,.....	12—375
7. Tachus or Tacos,.....	2—363
8. Nectanebus,..... Ochus reduces Egypt, { Fourth Persian Administration,	11—361 18—350
Alexander conquers Egypt,.....	—81—332

Upon the division of the Persian empire, Egypt fell to Ptolemy Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, who, when he ascended the throne, assumed the cognomen of Soter. Our limits will not permit us to describe at length the character of this prince, nor to set forth the numerous obligations which philosophy and literature continue to bear to his memory. The establishment of the celebrated Alexandrian Library, and the patronage he conferred upon men of letters, are too well known to require illustration ; and perhaps the royal munificence which he displayed in providing so splendid an asylum for learning was more than equalled by his discrimination in the choice of individuals fitted to preside over its interests and to promote its progress. Whilst inviting to his court and placing in his schools those characters who were the most distinguished of the age for their scientific acquirements, Ptolemy showed himself the greatest philosopher

Establish-
ment of the
Alexandrian
Library.

CHAP. III.

Genius of
Ptolemy.

that adorned Alexandria. To the knowledge of books he joined the more valuable knowledge of men and of business ; and was thereby qualified to direct the pursuits of science to practicable objects, as well as to withdraw the speculations of the learned from the insane metaphysics in which they were wont to indulge, in order to engage them in the more profitable studies of criticism, history, geometry, and medicine. The countenance shown to Demetrius Phalereus, and the employment to which he turned his accomplished mind, reflect greater honour upon the memory of Soter than all the magnificence of the Serapeion, or even the patriotic views contemplated in the structure of the Pharos.

Accession of
Philadel-
phus.

Public works.

His son Philadelphus succeeded to an inheritance of great honour, but of much anxiety ; for, being raised to the throne in place of his eldest brother Keraunus, he was long exposed to the fear of domestic treason and of foreign war. But a reign of thirty-eight years enabled him to consolidate his power, and even to purchase the gratitude of his subjects, by executing many public works of great utility. He conveyed the waters of the Nile into the deserts of Libya, completed the lighthouse at the harbour of Alexandria, and laboured to improve the navigable canals which connected his capital with the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The only stain upon his administration was the pitiful revenge inflicted on the librarian Demetrius, for having advised the former king to allow the succession to proceed in the natural course, and to settle the crown on his first-born son.

Ptolemy
Euergetea.

The third Ptolemy found it necessary to begin his reign with a Syrian war, which, in his own time, produced no memorable results, though, it would appear, it opened up to his successor a path to renown as a conqueror in the East. The latter is said not only to have chastised the insolence of Seleucus, and extended his conquests beyond the Euphrates, but even to have carried his arms to the confines of Bactria. Among the spoils which Euergetes,—the title bestowed upon him by his people,—acquired in the course of his victories,

was a prodigious number of statues, images of gold and silver, and other instruments of worship, which Cambyses had carried away from the palaces and temples of Egypt.

It was in the year 221 before our era that Ptolemy Philopater mounted the throne of his father in the due course of succession. In his reign the Syrians recovered the provinces which the more fortunate arms of his predecessor had added to the Egyptian territory ; the Jews were inhumanly persecuted ; and the general affairs of the kingdom fell into confusion and disorder. A slave to his passions, and addicted to cruelty, he sunk under a ruined constitution at the early age of thirty-seven.

Ptolemy
Philopater.

The minority which followed was of considerable importance, inasmuch as it proved the occasion of introducing formally into Egypt the powerful influence of the Roman government. As Ptolemy Epiphanes was only five years old at the death of his father, the kings of Syria and Macedon determined to dismember and divide his dominions ; on which account the guardians of the prince applied to the Western Republic to interpose her authority in the cause of justice, and to prevent the undue aggrandizement of two ambitious monarchs.

Minority of
Ptolemy
Epiphanes.

This request was readily granted ; and that the interests of the Egyptian court might not suffer from delay, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus set sail for Alexandria to assume the direction of affairs. Meanwhile ambassadors were despatched to Antiochus and Philip, charged with the determination of the senate, and instructed to make known the line of policy which the Roman government had resolved to pursue. But the peace and happiness which were thus secured to the people ceased almost as soon as this feeble ruler took the sceptre into his own hand. He became corrupt, and they became disaffected. Various conspiracies were formed and defeated ; but at length the attempt of an assassin succeeded, and Epiphanes was cut off in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

Roman
interference.

Venality of
Epiphanes.

CHAP. III.

Regency of
the Princess
Cleopatra.

Euergetes II.

The government was seized by the queen, a Syrian princess named Cleopatra, in behalf of her son, who was only six years old. Partiality for her native court, and the influence of her brother Antiochus, threatened the peace of Egypt and even its independence, when the Romans again interposed to defeat the ambitious designs of Syria. But the young Ptolemy, distinguished by the title of Philometer, was so completely in the power of his uncle that the inhabitants of Alexandria raised to the throne a younger prince, upon whom they conferred the surname of Euergetes, though, at a later period, he was better known by the epithet Physcon, a term expressive of unwieldy corpulence. The brothers at length divided the kingdom, and exercised a separate and independent sovereignty ; Cyrene and Libya being ceded to the younger, while the other retained that original portion of Egypt which was considered as more strictly hereditary.

Rash policy
of Euergetes.

Philometer, at his death, left an infant son, who has been denominated Ptolemy the Seventh, but who never attained the possession of power. To secure the tranquillity of the nation, a union between the widow of the late king and Euergetes the Second was recommended by the Romans, and immediately adopted ; the right of succession, on the demise of his uncle, being reserved to the young prince. But the jealousy of the cruel monarch soon put an end to the child's life, with the view, it might be presumed, of clearing the way for the accession of one of his own sons. He next repudiated his queen, whom he subsequently drove into Syria, and thereby involved his country in the hazard of a war with Demetrius, the rival and enemy of Egypt. Science and learning, intimidated by the horrors which oppressed the kingdom, were observed to take flight from their ancient seat, and to seek an asylum in other lands. The seminaries of Alexandria were deserted by the most distinguished professors, who, together with the principal inhabitants of the Maritime District, found themselves menaced with imprisonment or death. Nor was it until

Its disastrous
effects.

after the lapse of twenty-nine years that Physcon, detested for his crimes and feared for his sanguinary disposition, finished his earthly career, leaving his crown to be disputed by three sons, Appion, Lathyrus, and Alexander. This reign will appear interesting in the eye of the philosophical historian, from the fact, which the Egyptians could no longer conceal from themselves, that the influence of Rome was daily gaining ground in their councils, and already laying the foundations of that dominion which she afterwards formally usurped.

CHAP. III.
Disputed
succession.

Through the influence of Cleopatra, who had returned from her Syrian exile, Alexander was preferred to the throne. But as the claims of Lathyrus were acknowledged by a majority of the people, he was encouraged to assert his right by force of arms ; and having succeeded in driving his younger brother into a foreign country, he inflicted a severe punishment upon the insurgents of Upper Egypt, who had, during the political dissensions of the new capital, endeavoured to establish their independence. The inhabitants of the Thebaid had long felt themselves overlooked. The rising glory of Memphis first obscured the splendour of the ancient metropolis ; while, more recently, the importance of Alexandria, both as a place of learning and of commerce, had attracted, to a still greater extent, the wealth and population of the kingdom. It is not surprising, therefore, that the citizens of Thebes should have entertained the desire of recovering some share of the distinction of which they had been gradually deprived, and, at the same time, of securing to their countrymen a seat of government at a greater distance from the arms and intrigues of their warlike neighbours. In suppressing this spirit of disaffection, Lathyrus is accused of an excessive severity, in which he emulated the destructive policy of Cambyses, and reduced the remains of the venerable city to a heap of ruins.

Success of
Lathyrus.

Revolt of the
Thebaid.

His death, in the year eighty-one before Christ, relieved the apprehensions of the people, and opened a path for the accession of Cleopatra, his only child, whose gentle

Cleopatra I.

CHAP. III.

Rival claimant to the throne.

Roman influence.

Ptolemy Alexander II.

Ptolemy Auletes.

His de-thronement.

sex and manners gave the promise of a happy reign. This cheering anticipation might have been realized, had there not existed another claimant for the same honour in the person of Alexander, the son of her father's brother. Cleopatra was, without doubt, the legitimate sovereign, and was acknowledged as such by nearly all her subjects ; but the councils which now directed the affairs of Egypt emanated from the shores of the Tiber. The Romans, who, at first, acted only as umpires, had already begun to enlarge their views ; and, after claiming a right to give their advice, they threatened to interpose with their arms. Sylla at this period discharged the office of Dictator, and, in virtue of his high prerogative as master of the commonwealth, prescribed an arrangement to the competitors for the Egyptian crown. Cleopatra became the wife of her cousin Ptolemy, Alexander the Second, and thereby, it was hoped, had finally united the rival interests of the two branches of the royal family. But this measure produced not the auspicious results which were expected to arise from it. The ambitious youth, impatient of an equal, murdered his young wife, and seized the undivided sovereignty, which he appears to have occupied several years. At length he was compelled to flee from the indignation of his subjects to the coast of Tyre ; where, just before his death, he made a will, by which he bequeathed Egypt to the Roman senate and people.

The next who assumed and disgraced the title of Ptolemy, was a son of Lathyrus, who, from the excellence of his performances on the flute, was surnamed Auletes. This weak prince proved a tool of the Romans, and evidently lent himself to accomplish their favourite design of reducing his country to the condition of a province dependent on the republic. The leading men at court, who had no difficulty in penetrating his intentions, expelled him from the throne, and placed the sceptre in the hand of his daughter Berenice. To defend themselves still farther against the intrigues of Rome, they proposed to marry their young sovereign to the King of Syria,—hoping that the combined forces of the two king-

doms would prove more than a match for the legions usually stationed beyond the Hellespont. But the premature death of Antiochus defeated this wise project. Auletes was restored through the interest of the celebrated Pompey, and conducted into his capital by Mark Antony, a commander hardly less renowned. After a series of oppressions and cruelties, among which may be mentioned the murder of Berenice, he terminated a shameful reign by an early death,—intrusting his surviving children to the care and tuition of the Roman government.

Forced restoration and death.

Among the infants thus left to the protection of the senate, were the famous Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy Dionysius, who, as soon as they came of age, were raised to the throne, and associated in the government. But their friendship and union were of short continuance; and each having the support of a numerous party, their dissensions almost necessarily terminated in a civil war. The queen was compelled to seek refuge in Syria; soon after which event, Julius Cæsar, who, by his victory at Pharsalia, had already made himself master of the commonwealth, appeared in Egypt to complete his conquest, and to quell the intestine commotions by which the whole of that kingdom was distracted. She lost no time in repairing to Alexandria, where she was secretly introduced into the presence of the Roman general. This able soldier and politician immediately restored to her the share of power which she had formerly possessed,—issuing a decree, in the name of the senate, that Dionysius and his sister Cleopatra should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns of Egypt. The partisans of the young king, being dissatisfied with this arrangement, had recourse to a military stratagem, by which Cæsar and his attendants were nearly destroyed. A war ensued soon afterwards, which ended in the death of Ptolemy and the complete establishment of the Romans, not less as conquerors than as guardians of the children of Auletes.

But it was not consistent with Egyptian decorum that Cleopatra should reign without a colleague; and, there-

Egyptian decorum.

CHAP. III.

The col-
league.Triumph of
Octavian.Death of
Cleopatra.Egypt re-
duced to a
province.Adrian and
Severus.

fore, to satisfy the prejudices of the people, her youngest brother, not more than eleven years of age, was placed beside her on the throne. Such a nomination could not be regarded in any other light than as a show of limiting the power of the queen ; and even this apparent check on her authority was soon removed by the murder of the child, who fell a victim to the furious passions which at that period dishonoured the descendants of the great Ptolemy.

But the term of their dynasty was now fast approaching. The assassination of Julius Cæsar and the subsequent defeat of Antony, raised the fortunes of Octavian above the reach of the most powerful of his rivals, and at length invested him with the imperial purple, as the acknowledged head of the Roman world. Cleopatra made her escape from his revenge in a voluntary death ; for, suspecting that he intended to wound her feelings by placing her in the train of captives who were to adorn his triumph, she found means to put an end to her life by the bite of a poisonous reptile. With her ended the line of Grecian sovereigns, which had continued two hundred and ninety-six years.

As a province of the Western empire, the history of Egypt can hardly be separated from that of the mighty people by whose deputies it was now to be governed. It was, indeed, occasionally disturbed by insurrections, and sometimes even by foreign war ; but it was, notwithstanding, retained with a firm grasp both against domestic and external foes, until the decline of power compelled the successors of Augustus to summon the legions from their remotest territories, to defend the provinces on the Tiber and the Danube. Adrian, in the beginning of the second century, spent two years in Egypt, during which he laboured to revive among the natives the love of letters and the beauties of architecture. Severus, too, at a somewhat later period, made a similar visit, when, like his predecessor, he exerted himself to relieve the burdens and improve the condition of the great body of the people. In particular, he counte-

nanced every attempt that was made to repair the ancient monuments ; to replenish the museums and libraries at Alexandria with books, instruments, and works of art ; and, above all, to withdraw the minds of the more contemplative from the dangerous pursuits of magic and the contemptible deceptions of astrology. The reigns of ^{CHAP. III.} ^{Encouragement of learning.} Claudius and of Aurelian were slightly agitated by the pretensions of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who, as a descendant of the Ptolemies, announced herself the legitimate sovereign. Her army advanced to the frontiers, and even gained some advantages over the Romans ; but her troops being at length steadily opposed by the legions of Syria, she sustained a total defeat, and was carried captive into Italy. ^{Zenobia, queen of Palmyra.}

When, at a later period, the Emperor Probus visited Egypt, he executed many considerable works for the splendour and benefit of the country. The navigation of the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improved ; and temples, bridges, porticos, and palaces, were constructed by the hands of his soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, and as husbandmen. On the division of the empire by Diocletian, Egypt was reduced to a very distracted state. Achilleus at Alexandria, and the Blemmyes, a savage race of Ethiopians, defied the Roman arms. The emperor, resolving to punish the insurgents, opened the campaign with the siege of Alexandria. He cut off the aqueducts which supplied every quarter of that immense city with water, and pushed his attacks with so much caution and vigour that, at the end of eight months, the besieged submitted to his clemency. The fate of Busiris and Coptos was even more melancholy than that of Alexandria. Those proud cities,—the former distinguished by its antiquity, the latter enriched by the passage of the Indian trade,—were utterly destroyed by the arms of the enraged conqueror.* <sup>Division of the empire by Dio-
cletian.</sup> <sup>His revenge on Alexan-
dria, Busiris
and Coptos.</sup>

The introduction of Christianity was marked by repeated outrages among the people, and even by such

* Gibbon, vol. i. chap. 6.

CHAP. III. commotions as threatened to shake the stability of the government. The adherents of the old superstition resisted, on some occasions, the destruction of their temples and the contemptuous exposure of their idols ; while, in more than one instance, the Christian ministers, with a larger share of zeal than of discretion, insulted their opinions, and even set at defiance the authority of the civil magistrate when interposed to preserve the public peace. But, after the conversion of Constantine, the power of the Church was effectually exerted to co-operate with the provincial rulers in supporting the rights of the Empire, and in repelling the inroads of the barbarians from the east and south. Nor was it till a new religion arose in Arabia, and gave birth to a dynasty of warlike sovereigns, that Egypt, wrested from its European conquerors, was forced to receive more arbitrary masters, and submit to a severer yoke. This era, however, constitutes the point in our historical retrospect at which we announced our intention to interrupt the narrative, until we shall have laid before the reader an account of the arts, the literature, and commerce of the ancient Egyptians.

Commotions consequent on the introduction of Christianity.

Influence of the conversion of Constantine.

CHAPTER IV.

Mechanical Labours of the Ancient Egyptians.

The Magnitude of Egyptian Edifices—Their supposed Object connected with the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis—Proposal made to Alexander the Great—Lake Mœris; Its Extent—The Narrative of Herodotus; Supported by Diodorus and Pomponius Mela—Bahr Yousef—Remarks by Denon and Belzoni—Lake Mœris not a Work of Art—The River of Joseph and Canals connecting it with the Nile—The Labyrinth—Various Opinions as to its Situation—Pyramids; Account by Herodotus; Researches of Davison; of Caviglia; of Belzoni; Dimensions of Pyramids—Sphinx; Exertions of Caviglia—Monolithic Temple—Tombs—Reflections—Canal of Bubastis—Its Length from Nile to Red Sea—Comprehends four Sections—Description of it by the Ancients—Its Dimensions—Reasons why it was partially abandoned—Re-established by the Caliph Omar—Surveyed by the French—Estimated Expense of Re-opening it.

THE history of Egypt presents nothing more wonderful than the magnitude and durability of the public works which were accomplished by her ancient inhabitants. Prodigal of labour and expense, her architects appear to have planned their structures for the admiration of the most distant posterity, and with the view of rendering the fame of their mechanical powers coeval with the existence of the globe itself. It has been suspected, indeed, that the omnipotent spirit of religion mingled with the aspirations of a more earthly ambition in suggesting the intricacies of the Labyrinth, and in realizing the vast conception of the Pyramids. The preservation of the body in an entire and uncorrupted state during three thousand years, is understood to have been connected with

CHAP. IV.

Magnitude
and dura-
bility of
Egyptian
works.

CHAP. IV.
Influence of
Egyptian
mythology.

the mythological tenet that the spirit by which it was originally occupied would return to animate its members, and to render them once more the instruments of a moral probation amid the ordinary pursuits of the human race. The mortal remains, even of the greatest prince, could hardly have been regarded as deserving of the minute care and the sumptuous apparatus which were employed to save them from dissolution, had not the national faith pointed to a renewal of existence after the lapse of ages, when the bodily organs would again become necessary to the exercise of those faculties from which the dignity and enjoyment of man are derived. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Egypt was indebted to the religious speculations of her ancient sages for those sublime works of architecture which still distinguish her above all the other nations of the primitive world.

Barbaric
characteris-
tics.

Stupendous
project of
Stesicrates.

Lake Mœris.

It must at the same time be acknowledged that, in countries comparatively rude, vastness of size takes precedence of all other qualities in architectural arrangement. As a proof of this, it will not be denied that even the Pyramids sink into insignificance when compared with an undertaking proposed by Stesicrates to Alexander the Great. Plutarch relates, that this projector offered to convert Mount Athos into a statue of the victorious monarch. The left arm was to be the base of a city containing ten thousand inhabitants ; while the right was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea. But our object in this chapter is not to describe the fanciful dreams of a panegyrist, but to give an account of works which were actually effected, and of which the remains continue at the present day to verify at once the existence and the grandeur.

We shall begin with Lake Mœris, which, although it may be regarded as owing more to nature than to art, is nevertheless well worthy of notice, both for its great extent and for its patriotic object. Herodotus, our best authority for its original appearance, informs us that the circumference of this vast sheet of water was three thousand six hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty miles,

—that it stretched from north to south,—and that its CHAP. IV.
greatest depth was about three hundred feet. He adds, Its origin
that it was entirely the product of human industry ; as and extent.
a proof of which he states, that in its centre were seen two Decorations.
pyramids, each of which was two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water, and that upon the sum-
mit of both was a colossal statue placed in a sitting attitude. The precise height of these pyramids therefore,
he concludes, is four hundred cubits, or six hundred
Egyptian feet.

The waters of the lake, he continues, are not supplied Source of its
by springs : on the contrary, the ground which it occu- waters.
pies is of itself remarkably dry ; but it communicates by
an artificial channel with the Nile,—receiving, during
six months, the excess of the inundation, and during the
other half of the year emptying itself back into the river.
Every day, during the latter period, the fishery yields to Fishery.
the royal treasury a talent of silver,—whereas, as soon
as the ebb has ceased, the produce falls to a mere trifle.
“ The inhabitants affirm of this lake, that it has a sub-
terranean passage westward into the Libyan Desert, in
the line of the mountain which rises above Memphis. I
was anxious to know what became of the earth which
was dug out of the lake, and made inquiry at those who
dwelt on its shores.” The answer given to this very
natural question seems to have imposed on the credulity
of the historian. They assured him that the soil was
carried to the river, and washed down by the current
into the sea,—an explanation with which he appears to
have been perfectly satisfied.

In reference to this narrative, which exhibits the Confirmation
usual characteristics of truth and simplicity, we may re- of the narra-
mark, that it is substantially confirmed by the state- tive of
ments of Diodorus Siculus and of Pomponius Mela. Herodotus.
According to the former of these writers, the circumfer-
ence of the lake was exactly that which has been al-
ready quoted from the more ancient historian ; while
the latter magnifies it to the extent of five hundred
miles. They all agree in thinking that its object must

CHAP. IV. have been to save the country from the effects of an excessive inundation, and at the same time to reserve a supply of moisture for the arid lands in the vicinity, or for the wants of a dry season in the Delta. It is probable, however, that it was rather to prevent an evil than to secure a benefaction ; for we find that the water has not only a disagreeable taste, but is almost as salt as the sea,—a quality which it is supposed to contract from the nitre with which the surrounding land is every where impregnated.

Object of the lake.
Modern dimensions of the lake.

Last century, according to Pococke, this sheet of water was about fifty miles long and ten broad. The older French writers estimated its circumference at a hundred and fifty leagues,—a result materially different from that of the English traveller. Mr Browne, who was more lately in Egypt, thought that the length did not exceed thirty or forty miles, and that the greatest breadth was not more than six. It is therefore manifest that the limits of this inland sea have been much contracted ; and, moreover, that the process of diminution is still going on at a rate which is distinctly perceptible.

Arab ideas of it.

In its present contracted dimensions, the Lake of Moeris is called by the Arabs the Birket el Keroun, and is recognised at once as a basin formed by nature, and not by art. The details collected by Herodotus, and the other writers of Greece and Rome, must therefore have applied to the works which were necessary not only to

Bahr Yousef connect the Nile with the lake, but also to regulate the ebb and flow of the inundation. The canal, called Joseph's River, is about a hundred and twenty miles in length ; which, when it enters the valley of Fayoum, is divided into a number of subordinate branches, and supplied with a variety of locks and dams. There were two other canals communicating between the lake and the Nile, with sluices at their mouths, which were alternately shut and opened as the current rose or fell. These, we may presume, were the achievements of Moeris ; which, when they are regarded as the work of an individual, having for their object the advantage and comfort of a

Canals of Moeris.

great people, may justly be esteemed a far more glorious CHAP. IV.
undertaking than either the Pyramids or the Labyrinth.

In no circumstance, indeed, do the arts and civilisa- Ancient improvement
tion of ancient Egypt appear more manifest than in the of the soil.

care which was taken to improve the productive qualities of the soil by means of irrigation. A slight inspection of the plain of Fayoum, even in its present neglected state, affords the most convincing evidence that, in the days of the Pharaohs, no degree of labour was accounted too great, provided it could secure to the agriculturist a share in the blessing annually communicated by the Nile.

Near Beni Souef, in Middle Egypt, the river passes close under the foot of the Arabian hills, and leaves on the western side a large extent of fertile land. At this place the excellence of the system followed by the ancients is most distinctly perceived. The soil deposited during the inundation, as we have elsewhere observed, accumulates fastest near the banks, and forms a ridge about a mile and a half broad, which is above the level of the water at all seasons. Between this elevation and the hills there is a hollow, and then a second rising of the surface; so that from the Nile to the rocky barrier of the Libyan Desert, there are two ridges and two depressions. Hence two kinds of canals became requisite, —large ones in the bottom of these hollows, and a smaller class branching off on either side, to water the intermediate grounds. To render these last available, dikes of considerable magnitude were, at certain distances, constructed across the current of the main canals, which served both as dams to retain the water for a sufficient time, and as roads from village to village. Between Siout and Fayoum, accordingly, where the distance from the Nile and the mountains is the greatest, several principal canals, parallel to the river, were dug in ancient times; among which, the most remarkable were the Bahr Yousef, and another called the Hatn,—the line of which last, however, cannot be so distinctly traced at the present day. In the same district there were eleven large mounds or dikes, besides a considerable number of

River near Beni Souef.

Character of the river banks.

Principal canals.

CHAP. IV

smaller size,—all provided with sluices to regulate the issue of water according to the state of the crops and the height of the inundation.

Extraordi-
nary inunda-
tions.

This precaution, on some occasions, must have been absolutely necessary. Belzoni tells us, that the year in which he visited Fayoum an extraordinary overflow of the Nile sent such a quantity of water into the lake, that it rose twelve feet higher than it had ever been known by the oldest fisherman. Denon, in like manner, remarks that, if it were not for the dikes which stop the inundation, the great swells would soon convert the whole province into an inland sea,—an event which had nearly taken place about forty years ago, during an unusually high flood, when the river rose over the banks of Ilahon, and created an apprehension that it would lay the plain under water, or resume the channel which it had evidently occupied in remote ages. To remedy this inconvenience a graduated mound has been raised near the village just named, where there is also a sluice erected, which, as soon as the inundation has attained the proper height to water the province without drowning it, divides the mass of fluid ; taking the quantity necessary for irrigation, and turning aside the remainder by forcing it back into the river through other canals of a deeper cut, directed to a lower section of the stream.

Remedial
measures.Great work
of Mœris.Former
extent of
civilization.

We have already suggested that the great work of King Mœris is to be sought for, not in the lake which bears his name, but in the immense excavations which connected it with the Nile, and in the mounds, the dams, and the sluices, which rendered it subservient to the important purposes of irrigation. The observations of Belzoni, during his journey to the Oasis, give much probability to the opinion that the reign of civilisation had, at an early age, extended far into the Libyan waste. Ruins of towns, and other tokens of an improved population, meet the eye from time to time ; masses of sand cover the monuments of an age comparatively enlightened, and deform plains which, there is every reason to believe, were at one time the scene of agricultural in-

dustry, of the arts, and of law. A similar inference CHAP. IV. might be drawn from an examination of the country which stretches to the southward of Tripoli ; where are Extensive ruins. still to be found the relics of magnificent buildings, mixed with the shingle of the desert, and affording to the barbarians who now traverse that wilderness a constant triumph over the achievements of polished life. For this reason, we ought not to give way to an undue haste in concluding that the descriptions of the lake left to us by the ancient authors are much exaggerated. The pyramids mentioned by Herodotus, if we may form Pyramid of Mœris. a judgment from the remains of those which still stand at the entrance of the valley, were built of brick, and may therefore long ago have yielded to the solvent power of the atmosphere, supplying perhaps part of those ruins which are at present found scattered along the beach. It is not to be imagined that they were placed in the deep basin formed by nature, and which is still occupied by the Birket el Keroun, but rather in that division of the lake which was prepared by art for the reception of the annual flood, at the period when Mœris changed the course of the Nile from its more ancient channel.*

The Labyrinth is also mentioned by Herodotus as one The labyrinth. of the greatest wonders of Egypt, and the most surprising effort of human ingenuity and perseverance. "It exceeds, I can truly assert, all that has been said of it ; and whoever takes the trouble to examine them will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and

* Belzoni, vol. ii. p. 150-158. Jomard, *Déscrip. de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 8-43. Strabo, xvi. c. 1. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, xi. p. 133. Pococke's *Travels in the East*. Wilford, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 245.

The words of Pliny are remarkable in regard to the extent of Lake Mœris, as compared with its limits in his own day :—“ *Inter Arsinoitem autem et Memphitem lacus fuit*, circuitu ccl. M.p., aut, ut Mutianus tradit, ccccl. M.p., et altitudinis L. pass., manu factus, a rege qui fecerat Mœridis appellatus.” P. 69.

CHAP. IV.
Its structure
and arrange-
ment.

Description
of Herodotus.

Internal
decorations.

Site of the
labyrinth.

the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures erected by the Greeks ; but even these are inferior to the Labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered ; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south ; one wall encloses the whole. The apartments are of two kinds ; there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath,—in all three thousand. Of the former, I can speak from my own knowledge and observation ; of the latter, only from the information which I received. The persons who had the charge of the subterranean apartments would not suffer me to see them, alleging that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the Labyrinth. Of these, therefore, I presume not to speak ; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I pronounce them to be among the greatest triumphs of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts excited my warmest admiration. From spacious halls I passed through smaller chambers, and from them again to large magnificent courts almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture ; and around each court are pillars of the same material, the whitest and most polished that I ever saw. At the point where the Labyrinth terminates stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on the outside, and an entrance to the interior by a path under ground.”*

The same historian relates that this stupendous edifice was constructed beyond the Lake Mœris near the City of Crocodiles, now better known as Arsinoë, or the Medinet el Fayoum. He ascribes the design of the building to a determination on the part of the twelve kings, who at that period governed Egypt, to leave behind them a monument worthy of their renown ; and hence,

* Lib. v. c. 9. Herodotus, book ii. chap. 148.

perhaps, the number of the courts and gates by which CHAP. IV.
this immense structure was distinguished.

Diodorus says that it was built as a sepulchre for Mendes ; while Strabo intimates that it only stood near the tomb of the monarch who erected it. Pomponius Mela, again, speaks of it as having been constructed by Psammeticus ; but, as Mendes or Imandes is mentioned by several writers, it is probable that he was the king of the particular province in which the Labyrinth was placed, and who, as possessing the greatest influence and authority, might have his funeral monument set apart from the rest. It is, however, deserving of notice that, although no other traveller gives so minute an account as has been supplied by Herodotus, the testimony of ancient times tends decidedly to support the main facts contained in his narrative. Strabo, for instance, describes the passages as being so numerous and artfully contrived that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it, without a guide. Pliny, too, makes a reference to it, which proves at least his conviction that it was worthy of the fame universally received concerning it ; and states, that it was the pattern of all the similar works which had been attempted in different parts of Europe.

But it must not be concealed that the curiosity of the moderns, who have employed themselves in searching for the remains of this superb structure, has been very generally disappointed ; and, of consequence, that there is a great difference of opinion among them as to its real position. Larcher and Gibert, after a long investigation of the subject, saw reason to conclude that the situation of the Labyrinth must have been at Senures ; while Pococke, Banier, and Savary, follow the ancient historians in placing it beyond Arsinoë, in the direction of the Libyan Desert, and on the shore of Lake Moeris. Amidst the ruins of Keroun, accordingly, the attention of certain French travellers was particularly fixed by the appearance of several narrow, low, and very long cells, which, it was thought, could have had no other use than

Accounts of
Diodorus and
Strabo.

Confirmation
of the ac-
count of
Herodotus.

Failure of
modern
researches.

Differences
of opinion

CHAP. IV.

that of containing the sacred crocodiles ; and these have therefore been imagined to correspond with the remains of the great building in question.

But this supposition is not confirmed by the more diligent researches of Belzoni. He is more inclined to adopt an opinion founded on the narrative of the Roman naturalist, that this sumptuous monument of ancient taste must have stood in the neighbourhood of Terza, at the west end of the Lake Mœris. He there observed several blocks of white stone and red granite, which evidently must have been taken from edifices of great magnitude. Reflecting on the description of Pliny, who places the Labyrinth in that very situation, he made the most diligent search among the remains of antiquity to ascertain whether the marble fragments bore any evidence of the exquisite workmanship ascribed to the famed structure of Psammeticus. He admits that he saw not the smallest appearance of an edifice either on the ground or under it ; but, at the same time, he beheld through all that part of the country a “great number of stones and columns of beautiful colours, of white marble and of granite.” These materials of a splendid architecture he observed scattered about for the space of several miles, some on the road, and some in the houses of the Arabs, and others put to various uses in the erection of huts. It was not, therefore, without very plausible reasons that he arrived at the conclusion already stated ; and we are satisfied that most of his readers will concur with him in the opinion that, by tracing those interesting ruins to their source, the site of the Labyrinth might yet be discovered. It is true that, having been but little elevated above the ground, the building may be already buried to a great depth under the mass of soil and sand which is constantly accumulating in all parts of the valley.*

Nothing is more certain than that the level of the lake, as well as of the adjoining land, must have been raised considerably since the first era of historical records,

Researches
of Belzoni.Description
of Pliny.Remains of
ancient
architecture.Change of
levels.

* Belzoni, vol. ii. p. 161-165.

Belzoni himself observed, in one part of it, pillars and CHAP. IV
ruins of ancient buildings now nearly under water; and it is well known that the present rulers of Egypt have more than once found it necessary to erect new dikes upon the ancient mounds, to obviate the effects of an excessive inundation. Denon, too, remarks that at the mouth of this valley the remains of villages overwhelmed by the sand may be every where discovered; adding, that nothing is so melancholy to the feelings as to march over these ruins, to tread under foot the roofs of houses and the tops of minarets, and to think that these were once cultivated fields, flourishing gardens, and the habitations of man. Every thing living has disappeared, silence is within and around every wall, and the deserted villages are like the dead, whose skeletons strike with terror.*

When these circumstances are considered, it will be allowed, both that there is good evidence for the existence of an ancient building of great magnificence on the shores of lake Mœris, and also that the changes to which the neighbouring soil is constantly subjected, render the discovery of the Labyrinth, more especially the subterranean chambers, an undertaking of the utmost uncertainty. From what still remains under our eyes, we are justified in believing almost every thing of Egyptian grandeur, when the object of the architect was to do honour to the gods, or to preserve the memory of a beneficent king.

Of the wonderful people, indeed, who inhabited the banks of the Nile, there is nothing more remarkable than that their greatest efforts were made at a time when, with regard to religious faith, they were in the grossest ignorance and darkness, and that, when light sprang up around them, their power, their taste, or their zeal, seemed to decay,—yielding to the domination of barbarian tribes, who were indebted to them for all their knowledge, as well as for their superstition. Persia

Inroads of
water and
sand.

Difficulty of
discovering
the laby-
rinth.

Remarkable
contrast in
Egyptian
history.

CHAP. IV. added nothing to the arts or architectural improvement of Egypt ; the Greeks presumed not to rival their masters in the construction of temples, pyramids, and labyrinths ; and the propagation of the true religion, under the Roman emperors, put an end to the lofty imaginations which the subjects of the Pharaohs were wont to realize in their national structures. Christianity, which blesses every land where it is cordially received, contributed most of all to the extinction of that spirit which had impelled the Egyptians to undertake and carry into effect designs so vast and imperishable as those which still call forth the astonishment of the traveller. The days of their mythology were those of their proudest glories, and, we may add, of their greatest happiness and freedom. The blind belief in the divine origin of their monarchs, as also the inspiring dogma that the soul was to return to its ancient tenement in the flesh, encouraged them to erect monuments which might resist the pressure of ten thousand years, and carry the fame of their authors to the very threshold of eternity. But when the exercise of their primitive superstition was no longer allowed, and another faith was introduced in its place, the temples were gradually abandoned, and the spirit of the Egyptians, unsubdued by the severest political oppression, yielded at length to ■ more prevailing power, which directed their hopes and fears to the contemplation of loftier and more spiritual objects.*

The pyramids.

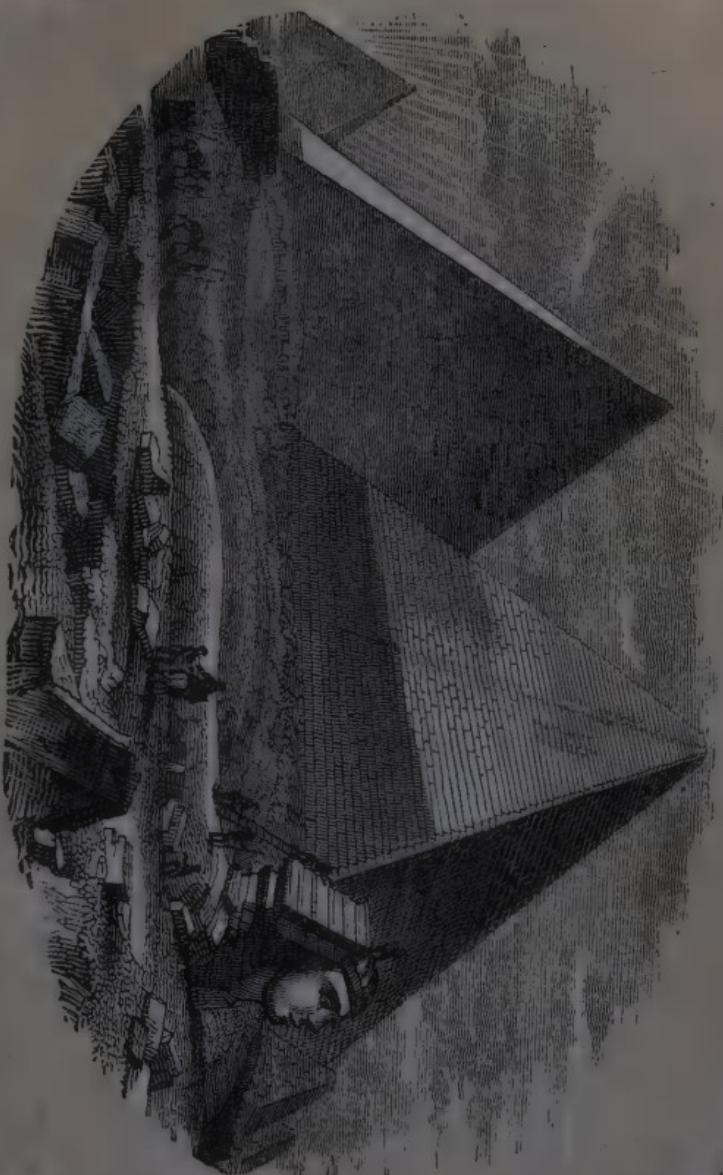
But whatever doubt may exist in respect to the situation and remains of the Labyrinth, there can be none relative to the next great object of Egyptian art, which we are about to introduce to the reader. The pyramids, during several thousand years, have attracted the curiosity of the traveller, and given rise to much learned disquisition ; while so great is their magnitude, and so durable the material of which they are constructed, that they present to the moderns the same subject of study which was contemplated by Herodotus, Eratosthenes,

Persian
and Greek
influence.

Effects of
Christianity

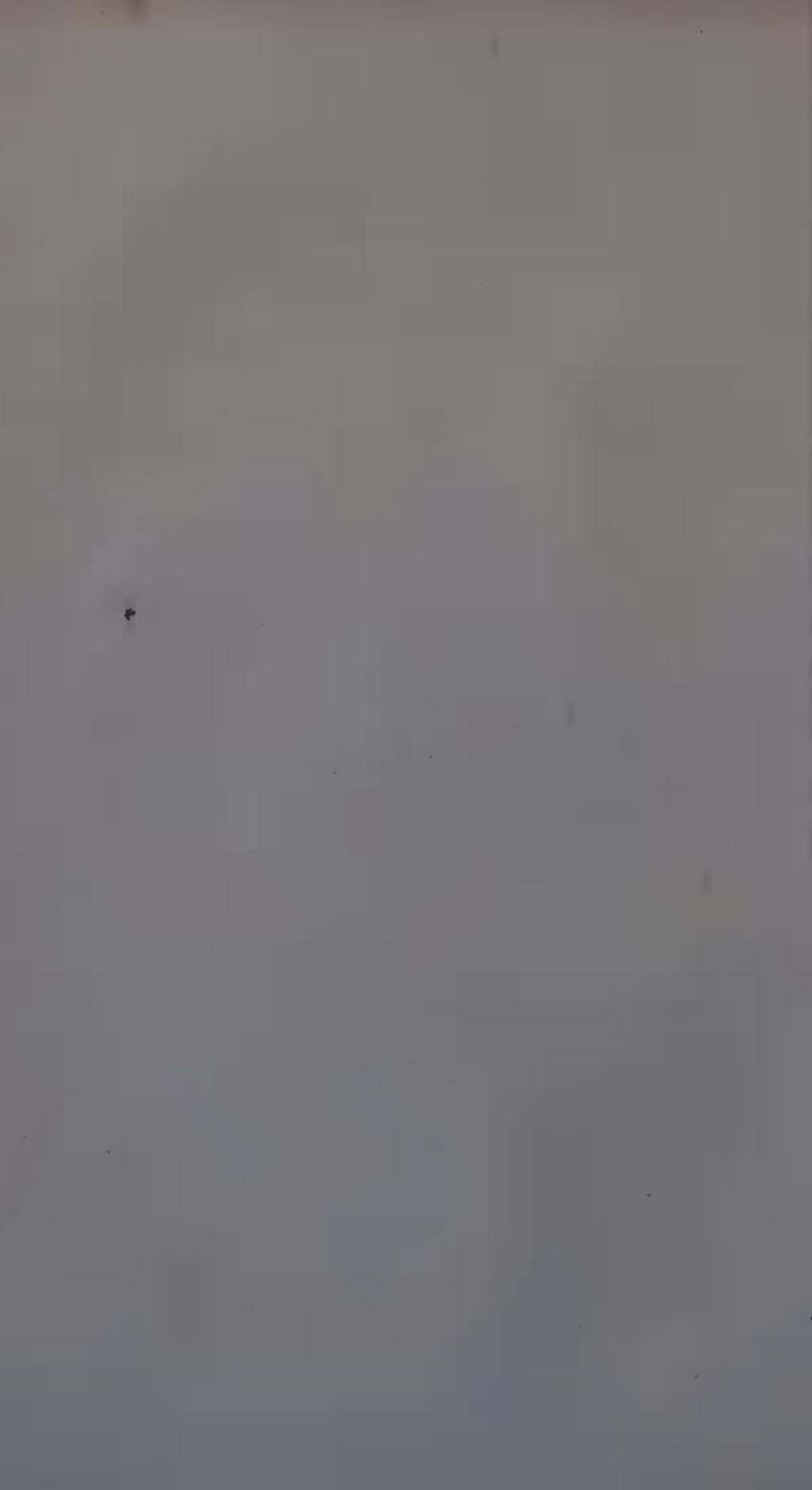
Influence of
the ancient
faith.

* Webster vol. ii. p. 221.



PYRAMIDS AND SPHINX—SUNSETTING.

Page 86.



Diodorus, and Strabo. Pursuing the plan we have CHAP. IV hitherto followed, we shall first extract from the oldest Greek historian the tradition which prevailed in his days, and then draw from other sources the most probable account of the origin, the date, the intention, and the actual appearance of those famous buildings.

Herodotus, it is well known, ascribes the largest of the pyramids to Cheops, a tyrannical and profligate sovereign. "He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifice to the gods; after which, he compelled the people at large to perform the work of slaves. Some he condemned to hew stones out of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were stationed to receive the same in vessels, and transport them to the edge of the Libyan desert. In this service a hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were spent in the hard labour of forming the road on which these stones were to be drawn,—a work, in my estimation, of no less difficulty and fatigue than the erection of the pyramid itself. This causeway is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its greatest height thirty-two cubits; the whole being composed of polished marble, adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I have observed, were consumed in forming this pavement, in preparing the hill on which the pyramids are raised, and in excavating chambers under the ground. The burial-place which he intended for himself, he contrived to insulate within the building, by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid itself was a work of twenty years; it is of a square form, every side being eight plethra in length and as many in height. The stones are very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.*

* I have departed from the common translation of this passage, which, it must be acknowledged, is shrouded in some degree of obscurity. In Beloe's version, and even in Larcher's, to which he appears to have been much indebted, the reader is led to conclude that the object of the architect, in forming leads or canals from

CHAP. IV.

Mechanical contrivance.

Process of finishing.

Reign of Cheops.

Pyramid of Cephrenes.

" The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars. Having finished the first tier, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines constructed of short pieces of wood ; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third ; and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were courses in the structure of the pyramid, though there might have been only one, which, being easily manageable, could be raised from one layer to the next in succession ; both modes were mentioned to me, and I know not which of them deserves most credit. The summit of the pyramid was first finished and coated, and the process was continued downward till the whole was completed. Upon the exterior were recorded, in Egyptian characters, the various sums expended in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it have cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen !—particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed in the building itself, besides what was spent on the quarrying and carriage of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments.

" According to the account given to me by the Egyptians, this Cheops reigned fifty years. He was succeeded on the throne by his brother Cephrenes, who pursued a policy similar in all respects. He also built a pyramid, but it was not so large as his brother's, for I measured them both. It has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which, in the other pyramid, is made to surround an island where the body

the Nile, was to surround the pyramids themselves with water ; whereas it appears that the real intention was to place in an island, or, in other words, to enclose with the sacred stream, the repository of the royal corpse in the interior of the building—*τας ἱποίετο Ἰηκας ἰωτῷ εἰ νησῷ, διαρυκα τοῦ Νείλου ἴσαγαγων—*
Euter. 124.

of Cheops is said to be deposited. Thus, for the space of one hundred and six years, the Egyptians were exposed to every species of oppression and calamity ; not having had, during this long period, permission to worship in their temples. Their aversion to the memory of both these monarchs is so great that they have the utmost reluctance to mention even their names. They call their pyramids by the name of Philitis, who, at the epoch in question, fed his cattle in that part of Egypt."

It is from the last circumstance mentioned by Herodotus that the very probable conclusion has been formed by Bryant, Dr Hales, and others, with regard to the people by whom the pyramids are supposed to have been erected. It is manifest, at first sight, that the dynasty of princes to whom these stupendous works are ascribed were foreigners, and also, that they professed a religion hostile to the animal worship of the Egyptians ; for it is recorded by the historian, with an emphatic distinctness, that, during the whole period of their domination, the temples were shut, sacrifices were prohibited, and the people subjected to every species of oppression and calamity. Hence it follows that the date of the pyramids must synchronise with the epoch of the Shepherd kings, —those monarchs who were held as an abomination by the Egyptians, and who, we may confidently assert, occupied the throne of the Pharaohs during some part of the interval which elapsed between the birth of Abraham and the captivity of Joseph.

The reasoning now advanced will receive additional confirmation, when we consider that buildings of the pyramidal order were not uncommon among the nations of the East, having probably some connexion with the principles of that more refined adoration which directed the feelings of its votaries to the magnificence of the heavenly host, and to the influence supposed to be exercised by their movements on the destiny of man. At the present day there are pyramids in India,—and more especially in Benares, where there is one formed of earth and covered with bricks. An edifice of the same kind

CHAP. IV.
Oppression
consequent
on these un-
dertakings.

Inferences
of modern
critics.

Ascribed to
foreigners.

Eastern
taste for
pyramids.

CHAP. IV.

Pyramid at
Medun.Tower of
Babel.Braminical
opinions.Probable
use of the
pyramids.Opinion of
Dr. Shaw.

has been observed at Medun in Egypt, constructed in different stories or platforms, diminishing in size as they rise in height, until they terminate in a point,—the exact pattern, it is said, which was supplied by the followers of Boodha in the plan of their ancient pyramids, as these have been described by European travellers, on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. Such, too, is understood to have been the form of the Tower of Babel, the object of which may have been to celebrate the mysteries of Sabiasm, the first and purest superstition of the untaught mind. Mr Wilford informs us that, on his describing the great Egyptian pyramid to several very learned Bramins, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked if it had not a communication with the river Nile. When he answered that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma Devi, and that the supposed tomb was a trough which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotus-flowers.*

The most probable opinion respecting the object of these vast edifices is that which combines the double use of the sepulchre and the temple,—nothing being more common in all nations than to bury distinguished men in places consecrated by the rites of divine worship. If Cheops, Suphis, or whoever else was the founder of the great pyramid, intended it only for his tomb, what occasion was there, says Dr Shaw, for such a narrow sloping entrance into it, or for the well, as it is called, at the bottom, or for the lower chamber with a large niche or hole in the eastern wall of it, or for the long narrow cavities in the sides of the large upper room, which likewise is incrusted all over with the finest marble,—or for the antechambers and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the Egyptian theology was clothed in mysterious em-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 439.

blems and figures, it seems reasonable to suppose that all these turnings, apartments, and secrets in architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose,—for the catacombs or burying-places are plain vaulted chambers hewn out of the natural rock,—and that the deity rather, which was typified in the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within.*

CHAP. IV.

Intricacies of
the interior.

The present aspect of the pyramids renders it doubtful whether they were ever fully completed, or whether the apparent dilapidation of the external parts ought not to be altogether ascribed to the injuries of the atmosphere and the hands of barbarian conquerors. It is presumed that a pile of this description was not regarded as entirely finished until it was coated over with polished stone, so as to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the layers of the building, and to render the surface quite smooth and uniform from the foundation to the summit. Herodotus states, in the clearest terms, that, after the structure was raised to its full height, the artisans began to finish it from the top downwards. In the second pyramid, accordingly, which bears the name of Cephrenes, a considerable portion of the original casing still remains; confirming the accuracy of the ancient historian as to the general plan of all such edifices, and affording, at the same time, the means of understanding that part of his narrative in which he asserts that a great quantity of the stone was brought from the Arabian side of the Nile, and even from the neighbourhood of the Cataracts. It has been ascertained by modern travellers that the main body of the huge masses now under consideration is composed of rocks still found in the immediate vicinity; we must therefore infer that the granite and porphyry used for coating the exterior, as well as for the decorations of the chambers within, are the materials so particularly described by the Halicarnassian, and which Strabo and Pliny more usually designate as precious stones and marble.†

Probable
incomplete-
ness of the
pyramids.Confirmation
of the
account of
Herodotus.Site of the
quarries.

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 201.

† It may be mentioned that every stone which admitted of

CHAP. IV.

Number of
Egyptian
pyramids.Impression
produced by
them.Present
appearance
of the largest.

The number of pyramids scattered over Egypt is very great; but by far the most remarkable are those at Djizeh, Sakhara, and Dashour. The first of these places, which is situated about ten miles from the western bank of the Nile, and nearly in the latitude of Grand Cairo, is distinguished by possessing the three principal edifices described by Herodotus, and which are still regarded as the finest monuments of this class in any part of the world. It is noticed by every author who, from personal observation, has described these wonderful works of art, that the sense of sight is much deceived in the first attempt to appreciate their distance and magnitude. Though removed several leagues from the spectator, they appear to be quite at hand; and it is not until he has travelled some miles in a direct line towards them that he becomes sensible both of their vast bulk and also of the pure atmosphere through which they are viewed. They are situated on a platform of rock about a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the surrounding desert,—a circumstance which at once contributes to their being well seen, and also to the discrepancy that still prevails among the most intelligent travellers as to their actual height.

The largest stands on an elevation free all round, on which account the accumulation of sand in contact with it is less than might have been apprehended. It has, however, suffered much from human violence, immense heaps of broken stones having fallen down on each side, which form a high mound towards the middle of the base. The corners are pretty clear, where the foundation is readily discovered, particularly at the north-west angle; but it is impossible to see straight along the line of the base on account of these heaps of rubbish. Hence, as has been already suggested, the difficulty of making an exact measurement, and the frequent disagreement of the results; it being impracticable, without removing

a. fine polish and shone in the light was called marble, from *μαρμάρειν*, to shine or glisten.

the sand and fallen stones, to run a straight line all the way in contact with the building. Dr Richardson paced one side, at a little distance from the wall, and found it Extent of its base. two hundred and forty-two steps ; whence he conjectures that the extent of seven hundred feet, usually assigned to it, is not far from the truth.*

The entrance into it is on the north side, and is nearly Entrance. in the centre, about an equal distance from each angle ; being, at the same time, elevated about thirty feet above the base, probably that it might be more difficult for a conqueror to discover it, and less liable to be blocked up with sand. The ascent to it is over a heap of stones and Accumulation of rubbish that have either fallen from the Pyramid, or been forced out and thrown down in the various efforts made at successive periods to find a passage into the interior. This heap at present rises considerably above the entrance, which is a small orifice not more than three feet and a half square : it is lined above and below, and on either side, with broad flat blocks of red granite, smooth and highly polished. The flags in the bottom of the passage are formed with alternate depressions and elevations, in order to afford a firm footing to the person descending ; but this, it is presumed, is a modern operation, because the depressions are not smooth and polished like the rest of the stones.

After advancing nearly a hundred feet into the entrance, which slopes downward at an angle of about twenty-six degrees, the explorer finds an opening on the right hand, which conducts him up an inclined plane to the queen's chamber, as travellers have agreed to call it,—an apartment seventeen feet long, fourteen feet wide, and twelve feet high, to the point on which the roof is suspended. Ascending a similar passage, but somewhat steeper than the first, he perceives another chamber of larger dimensions, being thirty-seven feet two inches long, seventeen feet two inches wide, and about twenty feet in height.

* Travels along the Mediterranean and Parts adjacent, vol. i. p. 119.

CHAP. IV.

The king's
chamber.

Sarcophagus.

Probable
existence
of other
passages.Discovery
of a third
chamber.

This is denominated the king's chamber,—but upon no better authority than we can discover than the caprice of tourists now converted into a local tradition. Its magnificence, however, entitles it in some degree to the distinction which it has obtained. It is lined all round with large slabs of highly-polished granite, reaching from the floor to the ceiling; this last being formed of nine immense flags which stretch from wall to wall.

Towards the west end of the room stands the sarcophagus, which likewise consists of red granite highly polished, but without either sculpture or hieroglyphs. Its length is seven feet six inches, while the depth and width are each three feet three inches. There is no lid, nor was there any thing found in it except a few fragments of the stone with which the chamber is decorated.

As this room does not reach beyond the centre of the pyramid, it has been suggested that there are other passages leading to other chambers in communication with it; the entrance to which would, it is very likely, be found by removing some of the granite slabs which serve as wainscoting to the walls. To present to the eye a uniform surface in the interior of an apartment was one of the devices usually employed by an architect in old times when he wished to conceal from an ordinary observer the approach to a secret retreat,—reserving to himself and his employer the knowledge of the particular stone which covered the important orifice, as well as the means of obtaining a ready access.

A third chamber, still higher in the body of the pyramid than either of the two just mentioned, was discovered by Mr Davison, who, about sixty years ago, was British consul at Cairo. Having on one of his visits observed a hole in the top of the gallery, he resolved to ascertain the object of it, and whether it led to any apartment which had not yet been described. He was able to creep in, though with much difficulty, and when he had advanced a little way, he discovered what he supposed to be the end of the approach. His surprise was great, when he reached it, to find to the right a

straight passage into a long, broad, but low place, which CHAP. IV.
he knew, as well by the length as the direction of the entry he had come in at, to be immediately above the large room. The stones of granite which are at the top of the latter form the bottom of this, but are uneven, being of unequal thickness. The room is four feet longer than the one beneath ; in the latter you see only seven stones, and a half of one on each side of them ; but in that above, the nine are entire, the two halves resting on the wall at each end. The breadth is equal with that of the room below. The covering of this, as of the other, is beautiful granite, but it is composed of eight stones instead of nine, the number in the lower room.*

The same room was entered and explored ■ few years ago by Mr Caviglia,—to whose enterprising spirit the antiquaries of Egypt are under great obligations,—but without adding any thing to our knowledge either of its structure or intention. He remarks that the sides of the chamber were coated with red granite of the finest polish ; and he ascertained that the unevenness of the floor was occasioned by its being formed of the individual blocks of syenite which constitute the roof of the chamber below ; hence they must be wedged in on the principle of the arch.

But it is extremely doubtful, even after these laborious endeavours, whether we have yet made farther progress in dissecting the structure of this pyramid than was attained by the Greeks and Romans two thousand years ago ; for it is deserving of notice that every recess which has been explored in modern times bears marks of having been examined by former adventurers. We find, besides, that the narrow entrance into it was known to Strabo, which, he tells us, had a stone placed at the mouth to be removed at pleasure. The same author, likewise, as well as Herodotus, was acquainted with the subterranean chambers, and Pliny has left a description

Its size and appearance.

Later explora-
tion.

Evidences
of former
exploration.

* Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, edited from MS. Journals by Robert Walpole, M.A., p. 354.

CHAP. IV. of the well. It is true that they declined to enter into many particulars which could hardly fail to have met their observation,—an omission which we are justified, at least in the case of Herodotus, in attributing to certain superstitious notions of their sanctity and mysterious uses.

Causes of
the silence of
older writers.

The account given by Mr Davison of his descent into the well, now alluded to, is so interesting, that we cannot withhold from the reader an outline of his proceedings. Conceiving it to be very deep, he provided himself with a large quantity of rope, one end of which he tied round his waist ; and, letting down a lantern attached to a small cord, he resolutely prepared to follow. With no small difficulty he prevailed on two of his servants and three Arabs to hold the line,—the latter assuring him that there were ghosts below, and that he must not hope to return. Taking with him a few sheets of paper, a compass, a measure, and another lighted candle, he commenced the descent, and soon reached the bottom of the first well or shaft. Here he found, on the south side, at the distance of about eight feet from the place where he landed, a second opening, which descended perpendicularly to the depth of five feet only ; and, at four feet ten inches from the bottom of this, he discovered a third shaft, the mouth of which was nearly blocked up with a large stone, leaving an opening barely sufficient to allow a man to pass. Here he dropped down his lantern, not only with the view of ascertaining to what depth he was about to proceed, but also to determine whether the air were pernicious or otherwise. The shaft, however, was so tortuous that the candle soon became invisible ; but the consul was not to be discouraged, as nothing less than a journey to the bottom would satisfy his eager curiosity. His main difficulty arose from the superstitious dread of the Arabs, who could hardly be prevailed upon to go down and hold the rope. After many prayers, and threats, and promises of money, and of all the treasure which might be found in the well, the avarice of one man so far overcame his

Narrative of
Mr. Davison.

Descent of
the shaft.

Superstitious
dread of the
Arabs.

terror that he ventured to descend ; though, on reaching CHAP. IV.
the bottom, “ he stared about him pale and trembling,
and appeared more like a spectre than a human being.”

Mr Davison now pushed forward with the rope round his body, being convinced, from the distant view of the lantern which he had let down, that this well was somewhat deeper than the first. Having proceeded ■ little farther than half way to the spot where the candle had rested, he came to a grotto about fifteen feet long, four or five wide, and nearly the height of a man. From this place the third shaft or well was sloping ; and, by throwing down a stone, he ascertained it to be of much greater depth than the others. But, still resolved to persevere, he pushed the lantern a little before him, and set out afresh on his journey, calling to the Arab to loosen the rope gently, and availing himself of little holes made in the rock, obviously for the purpose of aiding a descent. At length the shaft beginning to return ■ little more to the perpendicular, he arrived speedily at the bottom, where he found all farther passage precluded by a large accumulation of sand and rubbish.

Having reached this point he began to reflect on two Dangers of circumstances which had not before occurred to him, the attempt either of which would have agitated weaker nerves. The first was, that the multitude of bats which he had disturbed might put out his candle ; and the second, that the immense stone on the mouth of the pit might slip down and close the passage for ever. On looking about the bottom, he found a rope-ladder, which, though it had lain there sixteen years, was as fresh and strong as if perfectly new. It had been used, as is conjectured, by Mr Wood,—the author of a work on the ruins of Balbec and Palmyra,—to assist his progress downwards ; but he, it is concluded, must have stopped short at the grotto. When Mr Davison, on his return, had reached the bottom of the first shaft, the candles fell, and went out ; upon which, the poor Arab thought himself lost. He laid hold of the rope, as his master was about to

Depth of
the second
well.

Evidence
of previous
visitors.

CHAP. IV
Terror of the
Arab guide.

ascend, declaring that he would rather have his brains blown out than be left alone there with the devil. "I therefore permitted him," says the consul, "to go before, and, though it was much more difficult to ascend than to descend, I know not how it was, but he scrambled up a hundred times more quickly than he had come down."*

Depth
of whole
descent.

The depth of the first shaft was twenty-two feet ; of the second, twenty-nine ; and of the third, ninety-nine ; which, with the five feet between the first and second, makes the whole descent one hundred and fifty-five.†

Accuracy
of Pliny.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the dimensions assigned to the well by Pliny were eighty-six cubits,—an approximation to the truth which must remove all doubt from the mind of every candid reader that the honour of detecting the intricacies of the Great Pyramid was not reserved for the moderns. The Romans appear to have taken a considerable interest in the architectural antiquities of Egypt, the names of their favourite princes being inscribed on the monuments ; and hence it might have been inferred that this, one of the greatest works of the ancient world, would not fail to attract their attention.

M. Caviglia's
researches.

One of the latest and most complete surveys made of the hidden caverns of this pyramid, is that accomplished by Mr Caviglia, the spirited foreigner already mentioned. In his first attempt to sound the depths of the celebrated well, he descended as far as Mr Davison had done, and with nearly similar results. But he was by no means

* In the letter to M. Varsy, of which the above is an abridgment, Mr Davison remarks, " Vous avez beau dire que j'aurais dû regarder comme honorable d'être enseveli dans un de ces fameux monumens qui n'ont été destinés que pour les grands rois. Je vous avoue franchement, monsieur, que je n'avais pas la moindre ambition à cet égard. Bien au contraire, j'étais cent fois plus content de sortir et revoir le jour."

† See Walpole's Memoirs, p. 350, for the narrative of Mr Davison ; and Quarterly Review, vol. xix. p. 392, which contains an original communication from Mr Salt.

satisfied with the issue of his labour. Observing that CHAP. IV
the ground under his feet gave a hollow sound, he suspected that there must be some concealed outlet. He accordingly determined to resume operations ; and with this view he hired several Arabs, whom he employed in drawing up the rubbish from the bottom with baskets and cords. In a short time, however, owing to the extreme reluctance of these people to work, he was compelled to suspend his undertaking until an order from the Kaiya-bey was procured, which had the effect of subduing their indolence, and, to a certain degree, of removing their prejudices. It is not, indeed, surprising that the natives should have manifested reluctance to labour in circumstances so appalling ; being confined in a place where, owing to the impurity of the atmosphere, no light would burn longer than half an hour, and where the heat was so intense as to threaten suffocation. At length, in fact, it became so intolerable that one Arab was carried up nearly dead, and several others, on their ascending to the surface, fainted away ; so that, at last, in defiance of the command laid upon them, they almost entirely abandoned the task, declaring that they were willing to work, but not to die for him.

Clearance of
the depart-
ment.

Reluctance
of the Arab
workmen.

Thus opposed and disappointed, Mr Caviglia next turned his attention to the clearing of the principal entry or passage into the pyramid, which, from time immemorial, had been so blocked up as to oblige those who ventured within its orifice to creep on their hands and knees. His chief object in this undertaking was to improve the ventilation of the interior,—a purpose which he not only carried into effect, but, moreover, in the course of his labours, made the unexpected discovery that the main passage leading from the entry did not terminate in the manner asserted by Maillet, and believed by all his successors. On the contrary, having removed several large masses of calcareous stone and granite, apparently placed there to obstruct all farther progress, he found that it still continued in the same inclined plane downwards, was of the same dimensions,

Clearance of
the great
entry.

unexpected
discovery.

CHAP. IV. and had its sides worked with the same care as in the Indefatigable portion above, though filled up nearly to the top with earth and fragments of rock. After clearing it out to the length of a hundred and fifty feet, the air became again so impure, and the heat so suffocating, that he had once more the same difficulties to encounter with regard to the Arabs. Even his own health was at this time visibly impaired, and he was attacked with a spitting of blood ; but nothing could induce him to desist from his interesting researches.

Reward of his labours.

After the lapse of the third month from the time at which he began his toils, he had excavated as far as two hundred feet in the new passage without any thing particular occurring, when, shortly afterwards, a door on the right hand was discovered, from which, in the course of a few hours, a strong smell of sulphur was perceived to issue. Mr Caviglia having now recollectcd that, when at the bottom of the well in his first enterprise, he had burned some sulphur for the purpose of purifying the air, conceived it probable that this door-way might communicate with it,—an idea which, in a little time, he had the pleasure of seeing realized, by discovering that it opened at once upon the bottom of the well, where he found the baskets, cords, and other implements, which had been left there on his recent attempt at farther excavation. This discovery was so far valuable as it afforded a complete circulation of air along the whole passage and up the shaft of the well, and thereby obviated all danger for the future, arising from the noxious condition of the atmosphere.*

* It is amusing to contrast the indefatigable exertions of this individual, whose sole motives were derived from an enlightened curiosity and a desire to benefit the literary world, with the cautious procedure of Colonel Coutelle, one of Bonaparte's military *savans* :—“ J'arrivai à l'extrême, mais non pas à point où s'étaient arrêtés les ouvriers : le fond était rempli de terre et de cailloux roulés ; j'en remplis une de mes poches ; ensuite je pris toutes les mesures dont j'avais besoin. Mais déjà ma lumière était pâle ; ma respiration plus gênée ; le thermomètre de Reaumur était audessus de 25 degrés,” &c. After filling one of his pockets with the rubbish which

Ventilation.

But the passage did not terminate at the door-way CHAP. IV.
 which opened upon the bottom of the well. Continuing
 to the distance of twenty-three feet beyond it in the same angle of inclination, it became narrower, and took a horizontal direction for about twenty-eight feet farther, where it opened into a spacious apartment immediately under the central point of the pyramid. This new chamber is sixty-six feet long by twenty-seven broad, with a flat roof; and, when first entered, was found nearly filled with large stones and rubbish, which Mr Caviglia succeeded in removing. The platform of the floor, which is dug out of the rock, is irregular, nearly one-half of the length from the east end being level, and about fifteen feet from the ceiling; while in the middle it descends five feet lower, in which there is a hollow space, bearing all the appearance of the commencement of a well or shaft. From this point it rises to the western end; so that, at the extremity, there is scarcely room between the floor and the roof for a man to stand upright, the whole chamber having the appearance of an unfinished excavation. Mr Salt, however, is disposed to think, after a careful comparison of it with other subterranean apartments which have been disfigured by time and the rude hands of curious visitors, that it may once have been highly wrought, and used, perhaps, for the performance of solemn and sacred mys-
 Its appear-
 ance.
 Mr. Salt's
 opinion

impeded his progress into the secret apartments of the pyramid, the gallant colonel withdrew, uttering imprecations against the detestable atmosphere, which at once affected his breathing and raised the thermometer.—*Descrip. de l'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. ii. p. 39.

The same writer informs us that the French, hoping to find many antiquities fresh and undesecrated in the interior of a pyramid not yet touched, adopted the resolution of demolishing one of the third or fourth class from top to bottom. It is stated that every layer of stone was from a yard to a yard and a half in depth, and that all the blocks, being of a dimension proportioned to their thickness, weighed about twelve thousand pounds (6000 kilogrammes) a-piece. But, after having advanced about half-way in the process of demolition, they were obliged to relinquish the enterprise; leaving, says the colonel, the fruit which would have indemnified their toils to be reaped by those who were to come after them.

CHAP. IV.

Roman cha-
racters on
the rock.

teries. Some Roman characters, rudely formed, had been marked with the flame of a candle on the rock, part of which having mouldered away, rendered the words illegible. The same gentleman had flattered himself that this chamber would turn out to be the one described by Herodotus as containing the tomb of Cheops, which was insulated by a stream drawn from the Nile ; but the want of an inlet for the sacred fluid, and the elevation of the floor thirty feet above the level of the river at its highest inundation, put an end to this delusive opinion. From an expression of Strabo, however, purporting that the passage from the entrance leads directly down to the chamber which contains the sarcophagus, he thinks, and perhaps justly, that this apartment was the only one known to the Greek geographer.

Discovery
of other
passages.

On the south side of this spacious excavation there is a passage just wide and high enough for a man to creep along on his hands and knees, continuing horizontally in the rock for fifty-five feet ; but there it abruptly terminates. Another opening at the eastern end of the chamber commences with a kind of arch, and runs about forty feet into the solid rock on which the pyramid is built. A third passage is mentioned, but so obscurely that we cannot ascertain either its direction or dimensions. It is not, however, to be imagined that these passages had no object, or that they originally terminated at the point where the curiosity of modern travellers meets a check from the accumulation of rubbish, or, perhaps, from the intervention of a regular portcullis, such as Belzoni encountered in the second pyramid. Dr Richardson, indeed, insinuates that the avenues in question have not been actually explored by several writers who have thought proper to describe them,—a charge which, we are satisfied, does not apply to Caviglia, whose exertions were only limited by the utmost bounds of human energy and perseverance.*

Their imper-
fect investi-
gation.

* The latest notice relative to the pyramid of Cheops is to be found in the following extract, taken from the *Transactions of the*

Before we proceed to some more general observations CHAP. IV. on the history and comparative magnitude of the pyramids, we shall present to the reader a short account of Discoveries of Belzoni. the discoveries made by Belzoni in the interior of that which bears the name of Cephrenes.

As Herodotus, whose fidelity has been generally approved by the investigations of more recent times, gave assurance that there were no chambers in this edifice, a long time passed without any attempt being made to penetrate its outer walls. In fact, such an undertaking was regarded as equally romantic and impracticable. Influence of the account of Herodotus

Royal Society of Literature, and contained in two letters from Colonel Vyse to Mr Hamilton :—

In October 1836, Mr Caviglia was employed by Colonel Vyse, Colonel Campbell, and Mr Shaw, to conduct certain operations in the pyramids, which commenced on the 21st November, and continued till 22d May last. About 300 Arabs, men and children, were engaged to clear away the rubbish.

The results were, the discovery of three new chambers in the great pyramid, and the excavation of a remarkable mummy-pit in the vicinity. The newly-opened chambers are all situated above each other; the first being immediately over that known as Davison's chamber. This apartment is thirty-eight feet six inches from east to west, and seventeen feet one inch from north to south. It is called the Wellington Chamber. The second is called Nelson's, and is thirty-eight feet nine inches by sixteen feet eight inches. The third, named after Lady Arbuthnot, who was on the spot at the time of its discovery, measures thirty-seven feet four inches by sixteen feet four inches. The height of all these chambers is variable. In each case the same blocks of granite form both the ceiling of the chamber below and the floor of that above. There are passages and *entresols* between. The object of this succession of chambers Colonel Vyse supposes to have been to lessen the superincumbent weight above the king's chamber, the only apartment, in the proper sense of the term, in the pyramid.

Colonel Vyse entertained sanguine expectations of discovering the *souterrain* in the second pyramid,—that of Cephrenes, mentioned by Herodotus as surrounded by the Nile. The tomb—to which the name of Colonel Campbell is attached—is a large square excavation, including in its centre an oblong building, perfectly arched, of very firm masonry, which was found to contain a sarcophagus, some amphorae, and other relics. Among certain hieroglyphs inscribed on the side of the square, is the *cartouche* of Psammeticus II.; and there being another arch of this king at Sak-hara, mentioned by Mr Wilkinson, the fact is established beyond doubt that the arch was known in Egypt at least six hundred years prior to our era.

CHAP. IV.

Unsuccessful attempts of the French Savans.

Success of Belzoni.

First attempt.

Sagacious conclusion.

The French philosophers, who accompanied the invading army led by Bonaparte, made several endeavours to find an entrance, but, perceiving no trace in the building which could encourage the belief that it had ever been perforated, they left it in despair. The resolution of Belzoni, however, a private individual, without any other aid than his own resources, achieved a conquest over this mystery of ancient art, which the power and ingenuity of a great nation had relinquished as beyond the reach of human means. His success in detecting the sepulchral labyrinths of Thebes inflamed him at once with the desire and the confidence of discovering a passage into the secret chambers of Cephrenes, the reputed founder of the second pyramid.

His first attempt was not attended with an adequate degree of success ; while the labour and expense which it entailed upon him were so great as would have cooled the ardour of any less zealous antiquary. He began by forcing a passage, which he was soon obliged to abandon as equally hopeless to himself and dangerous to the persons employed. But this disappointment only increased his desire to accomplish an object on which he had staked his happiness as well as his reputation. Observing minutely the exterior of the Great Pyramid, he satisfied himself that the passage was not placed exactly in the middle of the building, but ran in a straight line to the eastern side of what is called the king's chamber ; which being in the centre of the pyramid, he conjectured that the entrance must be as far from the middle of the face as is the distance from the centre of the chamber to the eastern end of it. Having made this clear and simple observation, he concluded, that, if there were any chamber in the second pyramid, the orifice could not be at the spot where he had begun his excavation, but, calculating by the position of the passage in the first, nearly thirty feet farther east.

Promising appearance.

Encouraged by these new views, he returned to his task, and was greatly delighted to observe that, at the very place where he intended to recommence operations,

there was a hollow on the surface of the building. Any traveller, says he, who shall hereafter visit the pyramids, may plainly perceive this concavity above the true entrance. Summoning his Arabs, he forthwith resumed his toils ; and so correct was his measurement that he did not deviate more than two feet from the mouth of the passage which was to admit him into the recesses of this vast edifice. The native workmen were indeed as sceptical as ever, entertaining not the slightest expectation that any approach would ever be discovered, and occasionally muttering their opinion of him in the expressive term *magnoon*, which, in their language, denotes madman or fool.

After clearing away a great deal of rubbish, and cutting through massy stones, he had the satisfaction to see the edge of a block of granite,—the material used for casing the passages in the pyramid of Cheops,—inclining downward at the same angle as in the latter building, and pointing towards the centre. On the following day three large slabs were discovered, one on each side, and the third on the top,—indicating very distinctly that the object of his search was now about to be realized. In a few hours, accordingly, the right entrance was opened,—proving to be a passage four feet high, and three feet six inches wide, formed of granite, and descending a hundred and four feet towards the centre, at an angle of twenty-six degrees. Nearly all this passage was filled with large stones which had fallen from the upper part, and, as the floor slopes downwards, they had slid on till some larger than the rest stopped the way.

The next portion of his task was to remove this rubbish, which extended to the very entrance of the chamber. At length he reached a portcullis, which, being a fixed block of stone, at first sight appeared to obstruct all farther progress into the interior. “ It stared me in the face,” says he, “ and said *ne plus ultra*,—putting an end, as I thought, to all my projects ;” for it made a close joint with the groove at each side, and on the top it seemed as firm as the rock itself which formed the pass-

CHAP. IV.

Discovery of
its true char-
acter.Triumph of
Belzoni.The sаро-
phagus
chamber.Anticipations
on entering
it.

age. On a close inspection, however, he perceived that, at the bottom, it was raised about eight inches from the lower part of the groove, which was cut beneath to receive it ; and he found by this circumstance that the barrier before him was nothing more than a large slab of granite, one foot three inches thick. Having observed a small aperture at the top, he thrust a straw into it upwards of three feet,—a discovery which convinced him that there was a vacuum prepared to receive the portcullis. The raising of it, indeed, was a work of no small difficulty. As soon, however, as it was elevated high enough for a man to pass, an Arab entered with a candle, and announced that the place within was very fine. A little more room enabled Mr Belzoni to squeeze his person through, when, he exclaims, “ after thirty days I had the pleasure of finding myself in the way to the central chamber of one of the two great pyramids of Egypt, which have long been the admiration of beholders.”*

As his main object was to reach the centre of the building, he advanced, in that direction, along a passage cut out of the solid rock, six feet in height, and six feet six inches broad. At length he reached a door, at the centre of a large chamber. “ I walked slowly two or three paces, and then stood still to contemplate the place where I was. Whatever it might be, I certainly considered myself in the centre of that pyramid which, from time immemorial, had been the subject of the obscure conjectures of many hundred travellers, both ancient and modern. My torch, formed of a few wax candles, gave but a faint light ; I could, however, clearly distinguish the principal objects. I naturally turned my eyes to the west end of the chamber, looking for the sarcophagus, which I strongly expected to see in the same situation as that in the first pyramid ; but I was disappointed when I saw nothing there. The chamber has a pointed or sloping ceiling, and many of the stones had

* Researches and Operations in Egypt and Nubia, vol. i. p. 417.

been removed from their places, evidently by some one in search of treasure. On my advancing toward the west end, I was agreeably surprised to find that there was a sarcophagus buried on a level with the floor." CHAP. IV.

Upon examining more minutely the chamber into which he had entered, he found it to be forty-six feet in length, sixteen feet three inches wide, and twenty-three feet six inches high. It is hewn out of the solid rock from the floor to the roof, which last is composed of large slabs of calcareous stone meeting in the centre at an angle corresponding to that of the pyramid itself. The sarcophagus is eight feet long, three feet six inches wide, and two feet three inches deep in the inside. It is surrounded by large blocks of granite, apparently to prevent its removal, which could not be effected without great labour. The lid had been drawn to one side; so that the receptacle, be it fount or grave, was half-open. It is manufactured of the very finest granite; but, like the other in the Pyramid of Cheops, it presents not a single hieroglyph. Inspecting the inside solely with the view of finding some inscription which would throw light on the history and intention of this mighty edifice, he did not at first observe that there were bones mixed with the sand and gravel which it contained. These fragments of an animal body being afterwards sent to London, were ascertained to belong to the bovine species, and have been very generally supposed to be the remains of a sacred bull,—an object of veneration among the ancient Egyptians. On the sides of the chamber, which were carefully examined, he observed many scrawls executed with charcoal; all of which, however, were in a character quite unknown to him, and already become so faint that they were in some places nearly illegible, and rubbed off on the slightest touch.

On the wall at the western end of the chamber he perceived an inscription, which has been translated as follows:—

"The Master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them; and the Master Othman attended this (opening)

Dimensions
of the cham-
ber.

The Sarco-
phagus.

Bones of a
Bull.

Arabic in-
scription.

CHAP. IV. and the King Ali Mohammed, from the beginning to the closing up.”*

Transcription
of the
Arabic.

Mr Belzoni admits that the letters were far from being distinct. The transcriber was a Copt, whom he induced to go from Cairo for the purpose, not having sufficient confidence in his own pen. He adds, however, that not being satisfied with his protestations of accuracy, though the inscription was copied under his own eyes, he invited other persons, who were esteemed the best Arabic scholars in the country, to lend their aid, and particularly to compare the transcript with the original on the wall. They found it all perfectly correct and intelligible, except the concluding word, which was acknowledged to be obscure; but, says he, if it be considered how much that word resembles the right one, we shall find a good sense, and the whole inscription made out. The circumstance, too, supposed to be here recorded,—that the pyramid was closed up after having been opened by the agents of King Ali Mohammed,—corresponds exactly to the facts of the case, and affords a strong corroboration of the conjectural emendation proposed by the translator.

Descending
shaft.

It is remarkable that in this pyramid, as well as in the larger one, there is a pit or shaft which descends to a lower part of the building. At the bottom of this opening there were so many stones as nearly to choke up its entrance; but after removing these, Mr Belzoni found the passage running towards the north, as formerly, at an angle of twenty-six degrees. It continued in this direction, and with the same slope downwards, forty-eight feet and a half, where it joined a horizontal passage fifty-five feet in length, still running north. Half-way up this avenue, on the right, is a recess eleven feet long and six deep. On the left, opposite to it, is another

* This is the version of Mr Salamé, who says, “the Arabic to which I gave the meaning of these last words, ‘to the closing up’ is not spelled correctly in the paper I saw,—a fault which I attribute to the transcriber from the stone”

entry twenty-two feet in length, with a descent of CHAP. IV.
twenty-six degrees towards the west. Before he pro- Second shaft.
ceeded any farther, he went down this passage, where he found a chamber thirty-two feet long, nine feet nine inches wide, and eight feet six inches in height. This apartment contains many small blocks of stone, some not more than two feet in length. It has a pointed roof like that before mentioned, though it is cut out of the solid rock ; and on the walls and ceiling are some unknown inscriptions similar to those in the upper chamber.

Reascending to the horizontal passage, he discovered at the end of it a portcullis, which must have originally possessed the same construction as the one already described ; but the plate of granite, which had served as a door, was taken down, and is still to be seen under the rubbish which encumbers the approach. Beyond this point he entered into a lane which runs forty-eight feet in a direction parallel to the one above, and, in fact, appears to issue from the pyramid near its base. If this supposition be well founded, it will follow that the Monument of Cephrenes has two entrances,—an inference, we presume, which might be extended to that of Cheops, where there are several passages without any outlet hitherto discovered. The immense mass of broken stones and sand, which surrounds the foundation of the larger edifice, has all along prevented such a minute examination of its lower parts as might have enabled the scientific antiquary to connect the internal structure with the general plan and uses of the building. Hence it is extremely probable that apertures will be found in all the four sides conducting to the centre, at different angles of inclination, and establishing a communication among the various chambers which those huge structures contain.

After these details, it is impossible to refrain from an expression of admiration so justly due to the perseverance and ability of Mr Belzoni. It was truly observed by Mr Salt, that the opening of this pyramid had long been considered an object of so hopeless a nature that it is difficult to conceive how any person could be found

Horizontal
passage.

Inferences
suggested.

Perseverance
and ability of
Belzoni.

CHAP. IV.

sanguine enough to make the attempt ; and, even after the laborious discovery of the forced entrance, it required great resolution and confidence in his own views to induce him to continue the operation, when it became evident that the enterprise of his predecessors, possessed of greater means, had completely failed. Of the discovery itself he has given a very clear description, and his drawings present a perfect idea of the entrances, passages, and chambers. Of the labour of the undertaking no one can form an idea. Notwithstanding the masses of stone which he had to remove, and the hardness of the materials which impeded his progress, the whole was effected entirely at his own risk and expense.*

* What must be the feelings of every candid person who reads the following statement, which we give in the words of the discoverer himself :—

“ One thing more I must observe respecting the Count de Forbin. On his return from Thebes, I met him at Cairo, in the house of the Austrian consul. I had begun the task of opening the pyramids, and had already discovered the false passage. The Count requested, in a sort of sarcastic manner, when I had succeeded in opening the pyramid, which no doubt he supposed I never would, that I would send him the plan of it, as he was about setting off for Alexandria the next day, and thence to France. I thought the best retaliation I could make was to send him the desired plan ; and I did so as soon as I opened the pyramid, which was in a few days after his departure. Would any one believe that the noble Count, on his arrival in France, gave out that he had succeeded in penetrating the second pyramid of Djizeh, and brought the plan of it to Paris ? Whether this be the fact or not, will appear from the following paragraph taken from a French paper now in my possession :—‘ On the 24th of April, Monsieur le Compte de Forbin, director-general of the Royal Museum of France, landed at the lazaretto of Marseilles. He came last from Alexandria, and his passage was very stormy. He has visited Greece, Syria, and Upper Egypt. By a happy chance, some days before his departure from Cairo, he succeeded in penetrating into the second pyramid of Djizeh. Monsieur Forbin brings the plan of this important discovery, as well as much information on the labours of M. Drovetti at Karnac, and on those which Mr Salt, the English consul, pursues with the greatest success in the valley of Beban el Malook, and in the plain of Medinet Abou. The Museum of Paris is going to be enriched with some of the spoils of Thebes, which Monsieur Forbin has collected in his travels.’

“ Was this written,” exclaims Belzoni, “ by some person in France, in ridicule of the Count de Forbin, or is it an attempt to impose on the public by a tissue of falsehoods ?”—Vol. i. p. 393.

His description.

It is manifest, from the inscription discovered by CHAP. IV.
Belzoni, as well as from the state of the chambers in
the two larger pyramids, that they had both been
opened at the distance of many years. Dr Shaw, on
the authority of an Arabian author, mentions that the
one attributed to Cheops was entered about ten cen-
turies ago by Almamoun, the renowned caliph of Baby-
lon. It is added that the explorers found in it, towards
the top, a chamber with a hollow stone, in which there
was a statue like a man, within it the body of a man,
upon which was a breastplate of gold set with jewels.
Upon this breastplate there was a sword of inestimable
price ; and at his head a carbuncle of the bigness of an
egg, shining like the light of the day ; and upon the
human figure were characters writ with a pen, which
no man understood.*

It is in like manner recorded by Abdollatiph that
when Melec-Alaziz-Othman-ben-Yousouf succeeded his
father, he allowed himself to be persuaded by some foolish
courtiers to throw down the pyramids, and sent thither
sappers, miners, and quarriers, under the direction of
proper officers, with orders to overturn the red one, that,
namely, ascribed to Mycerinus, and which is known to
have been coated with highly-coloured granite. To
execute the instructions with which they were charged,
they encamped on the adjoining ground, and collected a
great number of labourers, whom they maintained at
an enormous expense. There they remained eight whole
months, exerting themselves to the utmost in order to
fulfil their commission ; but their most strenuous en-
deavours with picks and levers above, and with ropes
and cables below, could not remove more than one or
two stones a-day. When a block was thrown down,
there was the additional labour of breaking it into frag-
ments and carrying it aside ; and one of the engineers is
reported to have said, that, although he were to get ten
thousand pieces of gold, he could not readjust one of

Former open-
ing of the
Pyramids.

Arabian
accounts.

Attempts to
destroy the
Pyramids.

Vain labours

* Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. p. 207 ; and Pyramidographia by Mr Greaves.

CHAP. IV.

Abandon-
ment of the
barbarous
attempt.Project of
Saladin.Carrying
away of the
coatingOpening of
the great
Pyramid.

these stones in its proper place. At length they abandoned the attempt, without demolishing the magnificent structure, or even, as the historian thinks, without materially reducing its dimensions. The date of this barbarous project is usually placed about the end of the twelfth century.

Several other caliphs are named by Makrisi and Abdollatiph as having meditated the demolition of these great works. Saladin, for example, charged his emir, Karakoush Asadi, to build the citadel and walls of Cairo,—instructing him, at the same time, to consider Memphis and the pyramids as the most suitable quarry for obtaining materials. It is, accordingly, conjectured that the coating of the large edifice of Cheops, two-thirds of the one which bears the name of Cephrenes, and the greater part of some of the smaller ones, have been carried away, and can now only be sought for in the immense causeway, and the innumerable arches which he constructed between these monuments and the Nile, or in the citadel, the mosques, and the battlements of the capital. The remains of this causeway are still to be seen; the finer portion of it, however, which was upon the lower ground, has been swept away by the overflowing of the Nile. Some authors have identified it with the relics of the great road described by Herodotus, used for transporting the stones consumed in the construction of the pyramids. But a very slight inspection of the material, as well as of the style in which the building has been completed, will satisfy every one qualified to judge that this opinion is not founded in truth. Abdollatiph, in fact, a contemporary writer, states, in the plainest terms, that it was constructed by Asadi, one of the emirs of Salah-Eddin-Yousouf, the son of Job, commonly called Saladin the Great.*

The opening of the great pyramid has, by many oriental writers, been ascribed to the Caliph Abdal la Mamour, the son of Haroun al Raschid; and they state

* Travels along the Mediterraneoan and Parts adjacent. By Robert Richardson, M.D.—Vol. i. p. 139.

that he employed, for the accomplishment of his object, fire, vinegar, and other chemical solvents. Others attribute this achievement to the Caliph Mohdi, whose name was Mohammed. The latter is not improbably the sovereign whose reputation is embalmed in the inscription, copied by the direction of Belzoni, under the title of King Ali Mohammed ; and as it is recorded that he attended the opening of *them*,—in the plural number,—it is certainly not unreasonable to conclude that it was he who first penetrated into the interior of both, and who is, consequently, chargeable with much of the unnecessary dilapidation which accompanied his fruitless labours.

Considering the immense toil, as well as uncertainty which attend the exploration of the pyramids, we cannot be surprised at any difference of opinion that may happen to prevail with regard to the various apertures, passages, and chambers, which occupy the interior. But it is much less easy to reconcile the mind to the discrepancy which perplexes almost every book of travels, in reference to the magnitude of the buildings themselves. For instance, the following table exhibits only a small portion of the error which applies to the measurement, or estimated bulk, of these famous structures ; and yet the difference is so great as to justify the suspicion that the standard used by the several writers could not be the same, or that the summit of the principal structure has been considerably lowered since the days of Herodotus.

	Height of the Great Pyramid. Feet.	Length of the Side. Feet.
ANCEINTS.		
Herodotus,	800	800
Strabo,	625	600
Diodorus,	600	700
Pliny,	—	708
MODERNS.		
Le Brun,	616	704
Prosper Alpinus,	625	750
Thevenot,	520	612
Niebuhr,	440	710
Greaves,	444	648
Davison,	461	746
French Savans,	440(470 Eng.)	704

CHAP. IV.

Different statements of oriental writers.

Discrepancies of travellers' accounts.

Different proportion assigned.

CHAP. IV.

NUMBER OF LAYERS OR STEPS.

Greaves,	207	Belon,	250
Maillet,	208	Thevenot,	208
Albert Lewenstein,	260	Davison,	206
Pococke,	212		

Careful
measure-
ments of
Davidson
and Grobert.

Davison not only numbered the layers, but gives the height of every one of them separately, from the bottom to the top. Grobert, a member of the French Academy, appears to have proceeded in a similar manner, counting the steps, individually, and measuring their thickness. But it is obvious that, if they did not make an allowance in every instance for any deviation of the surface of the step from the plane of the horizon, the result would not coincide with the actual height of the pyramid. As an approximation, however, we may assume that the structure in question is four hundred and eighty feet high, on a base of seven hundred and fifty feet in length; or, in other words, covering an area of about eleven acres, and rising to an elevation of a hundred and twenty-seven feet greater than that of the cross on St Paul's Cathedral.

Mr Belzoni, whose solitary exertions accomplished more than the united band of philosophers attached to the French army, ascertained the dimensions of the second pyramid to be as follows:—

	Feet.
The Base,	684
Perpendicular height,.....	456
Coating from the top to the place where it ends...140	

Uniformity
in the en-
trances dis-
covered.

Before we leave these memorable relics of ancient grandeur, we must revert to a circumstance which is too remarkable to be passed over. In all the pyramids that have been opened, which at Djizeh and Sakhara amount at least to six, the entrance has always been found near the centre on the northern face, and the passage uniformly proceeding downwards from it, at an angle which never varies. Greaves makes the inclination in that of Cheops to be 26° , while Caviglia maintains that it is 27° ; which last we have observed to be

Correspondence of the slope of passages

common to all the sloping passages in the edifice just specified. He found the same angle on opening one of the small pyramids towards the south, at the end of the passage in which were two chambers, leading one out of the other, and both empty. The same conclusion was formed by Belzoni with regard to the pyramid of Cephrenes. The angle in all the sloping channels was about 26° . With much apparent reason, therefore, has it been conjectured that this coincidence could not be accidental. It must have been the work of design, executed for some special purpose ; and nothing more readily presents itself to the mind, as an object worthy of so much care, than the uses of astronomy, to which the priests of ancient Egypt are known to have been greatly addicted.

Pauw suggested that the pyramids, as well as the obelisks, were temples raised to the god of day, because one of their sides is in all cases turned to the east. If, then, nothing more were apparent than the exact position of these buildings in reference to the four cardinal points of the compass, it would of itself be sufficient to stamp the character of the Egyptians at a very remote age, as connected with the pursuits of practical astronomy. But when to this are added the delineation of the twelve signs of the zodiac, the traces of which are still visible at Esneh and Dendera, the naming of the principal stars, and the grouping of the constellations, there can remain no doubt that the science of the priesthood was chiefly employed in marking the times and paths of the celestial host. When, too, we find that all the learning of Thales, by which he was enabled to calculate eclipses, and determine the solstitial and equinoctial points, was acquired from the Egyptian sages six hundred years before the Christian era ; that at a later period Eratosthenes was found qualified to measure a degree of the meridian, and from the result to deduce the circumference of the earth with an extraordinary degree of accuracy ; and that the day of the summer solstice was then, and probably at a much earlier epoch,

Ideas suggested for their object.

Astronomical uses.

CHAP. IV. so nicely observed by means of a well dug at Syene, from the surface of which the sun's disc was reflected entire,—we cannot hesitate to receive any hypothesis which assumes an astronomical purpose, in accounting for the architectural prodigies of ancient Egypt.

Union of science and religion.

It is indeed quite consistent to suppose that the priests, in the construction of these stupendous monuments, would avail themselves of the means thus offered of connecting their sacred duties with their favourite study, and of combining the sentiments of piety with the sublime conceptions of astronomy. Among other benefits which this union has conferred upon posterity, is that of having fixed with precision the faces of the pyramids, from which, as Pauw has observed, “ we know that the poles of the earth have not changed.” But there is reason to think that those structures were made subservient to a more immediate and important use in the science of astronomy, namely, to correct the measurement of time. This object, it may be conceived, was in contemplation when the main passages leading from the northern sides were formed. These approaches, as we have repeatedly remarked, are invariably inclined downwards, in an angle of about 27° , with reference to the plane of the horizon, which gives a line of direction not far removed from that point in the heavens where the polar star now crosses the meridian below the pole. The observation of this, or some other star, passing the meridian, would give them an accurate measure of sidereal time,—a point of the first importance in an age when it is probable no instruments more perfect than solar gnomons were in use. Indeed it would not be easy to devise a method more effectual for observing the transit of one of the heavenly bodies with the naked eye, than that of watching its motion across the mouth of such a lengthened tube ; and it is manifest that some one of these luminaries, when due north and under the pole, must have been seen in the line of a passage inclined at an angle of twenty-six or twenty-seven degrees.

Measurement of sidereal time.

These remarks were suggested by an incidental notice

in the short memorandum of the measurements made by CHAP. IV Mr Caviglia :—“ One no longer sees the pole-star at the spot where the main passage ceases to continue in the same inclination, and where one begins to mount.” Striking Mr. Caviglia From this expression it is naturally concluded that he must have seen the pole-star when at the bottom of the main passage ; and, if so, we have not yet got the true measure of the angle which these passages form with the horizon. This would be very desirable, as it could not fail to lead to most important results ; especially if it should be found that the difference of the angles in the approaches of the pyramids at Djizeh, Sakhara, and Dashour, correspond to the difference of the latitude of these several places. We might then be almost certain that they were intended for the purpose of observing the passage, over the meridian, of some particular star, whose altitude was equal to the angle of the passage. If this suggestion should be well founded, it would not be difficult, by calculation, to determine which of the stars within the Arctic circle might be seen to pass across the mouths of the shafts about the supposed time of building the pyramids, and thereby to fix with more precision than has been hitherto attained, the period at which those stupendous structures were erected.*

Dr Richardson is disposed to call in question the soundness of this hypothesis,—observing that the supposition of the passage being intended as an astronomical instrument for measuring sideral time is scarcely tenable. He remarks too that pyramids are prodigiously expensive and unmanageable machines ; and the passage, being so carefully sealed at the entrance, precluded all possibility of using them as such.† But, in reply to this rather hasty stricture, it may be sufficient to notice that no one has ever maintained they were meant solely for astronomical uses ; while the constant occurrence of

Opinions of
Dr. Richard-
son.

* Greaves’ *Pyramidographia*. Belzoni’s *Researches*, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Travels along the Mediterranean*, vol. i. p. 133.

CHAP. IV.

Opinion of
the author.Inferior
Pyramids.

a contrivance so little likely to be accidental can hardly fail to suggest that it must have been intended to serve some purpose. We are therefore inclined to agree with the ingenious writer who first advanced the hypothesis, in ascribing the uniform inclination of the passages, in the two large ones, to some object quite unconnected with the mere facility of descent.

Having occupied so much space with the description of these vast monuments, we must rest satisfied with a mere reference to those of Abousir, Sakhara, and Dashour. Every one knows that, in point of magnitude, these are much inferior to the former, though still entitled to rank very high as the remains of a great people, whose glory unfortunately is now almost entirely reflected from the ruins of their ancient works. It is deserving of notice, at the same time, that these smaller pyramids are generally coated with a material different from the body of the edifice ; and, moreover, that, so far as they have been inspected, they bear in their structure and internal distribution a striking resemblance to the more magnificent erections at Djizeh.

The Sphinx.

Clearing
the area
around it.

Our account of the mechanical productions of ancient Egypt would be incomplete did we not mention the great Sphinx, which has always been regarded as an accompaniment, and sometimes even as a rival to the pyramids. The latest information in regard to this stupendous figure was obtained through the persevering labours of Mr Caviglia, whose name has been already mentioned with so much honour. After the most fatiguing and anxious endeavours, during several months, he succeeded in laying open the whole statue to its base, and exposing a clear area extending to a hundred feet from its front. It is not easy, says Mr Salt, who witnessed the process of excavation, for any person unused to operations of this kind to form the smallest idea of the difficulties which he had to surmount, more especially when working at the bottom of the trench ; for, in spite of every precaution, the slightest breath of wind, or concussion, set all the surrounding particles of sand in motion, so that the

sloping sides began to crumble away, and mass after mass CHAP. IV.
to come tumbling down, till the whole surface bore no unapt resemblance to a cascade of water. Even when the sides appeared most firm, if the labourers suspended their work but for an hour, they found on their return that they had the greatest part of it to do over again. This was particularly the case on the southern side of the paw, where the whole of the people—from sixty to a hundred—were employed seven days without making any sensible advance, the sand rolling down in one continued torrent.

Immense labour of the task.

But the discovery amply rewarded the toil and expense which were incurred in revealing the structure of this wonderful work of art. The huge legs stretched out fifty feet in advance from the body, which is in a cumbent posture; fragments of an enormous beard were found resting beneath the chin; and there were seen all the appendages of a temple, granite tablet, and altar, arranged on a regular platform immediately in front. On this pavement, and at an equal distance between the paws of the figure, was the large slab of granite just mentioned, being not less than fourteen feet high, seven broad, and two thick. The face of this stone, which fronted the east, was highly embellished with sculptures in bas-relief, the subject representing two sphinxes seated on pedestals, and priests holding out offerings. There was also a long inscription in hieroglyphics most beautifully executed; the whole design being covered at top, and protected, as it were, with the sacred globe, the serpent, and the wings. Two other tablets of calcareous stone, similarly ornamented, were supposed, together with that of granite, to have constituted part of a miniature temple, by being placed one on each side of the latter, and at right angles to it. One of them in fact was still remaining in its place; of the other, which was thrown down and broken, the fragments are now in the British Museum. A small lion, couching in front of this edifice, had its eyes directed towards the main figure. There were besides, several fragments of other lions rudely

Ample reward.

Temple and altar.

Inscribed tablets.

CHAP. IV.

Small lions.

Greek inscriptions.

carved, and the fore part of a sphinx of tolerable workmanship ; all of which, as well as the tablets, walls, and platforms on which the little temple stood, were ornamented with red paint,—a colour which seems to have been, in Egypt as well as in India, appropriated to sacred purposes. In front of the temple was a granitic altar, with one of the four projections or horns still retaining its place at the angle. From the effects of fire evident on the stone, it is manifest that it had been used for burnt-offerings. On the side of the left paw of the great sphinx were cut several indistinct legends in Greek characters, addressed to different deities. On the second digit of the same was sculptured, in pretty deep letters, an inscription in verse ; of which the subjoined translation was given by the late Dr Young, whose extensive knowledge of antiquities enabled him at once to restore the defects of the original, and to convey its meaning in Latin as well as in English.*

* Σον δέμας ἐκπαγύλον τευχάν θεοί ἀλεύ ἔουτες
Φεισαμενοι χωρῶς πυρίδα μαζομεντος. x. r. 2.

Tuum corpus stupendum struxerunt dii sempiterni,
Parcentes terræ triticum pinsenti ;
In medium erigentes arvensis tabulæ,
Insulæ petrosæ arenam detrudentes :
Vicinam pyramidibus talem te posuerunt visu ;
Non (Edipodis homicidam, sicut ad Thebas,
Sed Deæ Latonæ famulam purissimam
Sedulò observantem desideratum bonum regem,
Terræ Egyptiæ venerandum ductorem,
Cælestem magnum imperatorem (diis affinem)
Similem Vulcano, magnanimum (fortissimum)
Validum in bello, et amabilem inter cives
Terram lætari (omnigenis epulis jubentem).

Thy form stupendous here the gods have placed,
Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land ;
And with this mighty work of art have graced
A rocky isle encumber'd once with sand :
Not that fierce Sphynx which Thebes erewhile laid waste,
But great Latona's servant, mild and bland ;
Watching that prince beloved who fills the throne
Of Egypt's plains, and calls the Nile his own.
That heavenly monarch who his foes defies ;
Like Vulcan powerful, and like Pallas wise.

On the digits of the southern paw nothing more was CHAP. IV.
 discovered than a few of the usual dedicatory phrases in Flattery
 honour of Harpocrates, Mars, and Hermes. One inscrip- dedications.
 tion gives, as Mr Salt reads it, to the Emperor Claudius
 the extraordinary appellation of the "good spirit,"
 (*ἀγαθὸς δαιμὼν*)—an instance of flattery which can
 only be outdone by that of another inscription discovered
 in Upper Egypt, where Caracalla is styled "most
 pious" (*piissimus*), on the very same stone from which
 the name of his murdered brother Geta had probably
 been erased by his own hand. On another small edifice,
 in front of the sphinx, was a legend with the name of
 Septimius Severus, in which that of Geta was obliterated
 as in the former, and as it also is on the triumphal arch
 erected by the same emperor at Rome. The former inscrip- Name of
 tion, however, is not to Claudius, but to his successor Nero, as may be distinctly traced in the first line as
 it now appears.*

We have entered more particularly into these details Errors of
 on account of an error into which Dr Clarke has fallen Dr. Clarke.
 respecting the share of merit due to the French in un-
 covering the body of the sphinx. He states, without
 the slightest hesitation, that the academicians who fol-
 lowed the camp of Bonaparte laid open the whole pedest-
 al of this statue, as well as the cumbent or leonine part
 of the figure, which were before entirely concealed by
 the sand; adding that, instead of answering the expec-
 tations raised concerning the work upon which it was
 supposed to rest, the pedestal proves to be a wretched
 substructure of brick-work and small fragments of stone,
 put together like the most insignificant piece of modern
 masonry, and wholly out of character, both with respect
 to the prodigious labour bestowed upon the statue itself
 and the gigantic appearance of the surrounding objects.
 Now, every one who has glanced into the splendid

* For the above account of Caviglia's discoveries, as he himself has not published any thing, the reader is indebted to the several communications forwarded by Mr Salt from Egypt to the late Editor of the Quarterly Review.

CHAP. IV. publication, to the contents of which the several philosophers contributed in their respective departments, knows well that the French never uncovered more than the back of the sphinx,—that they never pretended to have seen the pedestal,—and that there is, in fact, no brick-work in any way connected with that celebrated statue. M. Denon saw nothing but the head and neck ; and M. Gobert, who was constantly stationed at the pyramids, says, in his memoir, that he succeeded in laying bare the back to such an extent as was sufficient to determine the measurement ; affirming that the figure was cut out of a salient angle of the mountain, and is, in fact, one solid piece of rock. It is true that the paws, which are thrown out fifty feet in front, are constructed of masonry ; but it is neither insignificant, nor in the least degree resembling modern workmanship. This, however, could not be known either to the French or to Dr Clarke. Perhaps, after all, the hint has been taken from Pococke, who remarks, in regard to the body of the sphinx, that what some have taken for joinings of the stones, are nothing more than veins in the rock. Hence the suspicion that the hands of a builder were employed in constructing the supposed pedestal or platform on which the statue rests.

M. Denon
and M.
Gobert.

Possible
origin of
Dr. Clarke's
errors.

Failure of
the French
expedition.

We may remark in passing, that the scientific corps, commissioned by Bonaparte to illustrate the history and antiquities of Egypt, effected almost nothing in either department. Compelled to follow the movements of the army, which was at no time in undisturbed possession of the country, they could not engage in those tedious operations which, as has been proved by the experience of Belzoni and Caviglia, were absolutely necessary to success in any attempt to analyze the structure of the vast edifices which invite the curiosity of the traveller. It is not denied that, in the great work published under the patronage of the French government, there is much valuable information connected more or less directly with the ancient state of Egypt ; but it is true, at the same time, that nearly all the dissertations which occupy its

splendid volumes might have been written by men who had never quitted Paris, nor seen any other document besides those which are supplied by the Greek and Roman authors. This remark applies, in the strictest sense, to the long article by M. Jomard on the pyramids. It is a mere abridgment of the descriptions given by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Ammianus, and by some later writers of the Arabian school. With regard, again, to the sphinx, we subjoin in a note the sum of all the intelligence which is conveyed to the readers of Europe by the renowned philosophers of Napoleon.*

It becomes us to add, that the view given in the foregoing plate represents the sphinx as it appeared to the French in 1800, and not as it might have been delineated by Caviglia, immediately after his successful labour in removing the covering which had concealed it for ages. But we know not whether it will be consolatory to the reader to be informed, that this remarkable statue is again as much under the dominion of the desert as it was half a century ago ; and, consequently, that it now meets the eye of the traveller shrouded in sand to the same depth as before, and presenting the very outline which our artist has borrowed from a distinguished French master. Dr Richardson relates that the wind and the Arabs had replaced the covering on this venerable piece of antiquity, and hence that the lower parts were quite invisible. The breast, shoulders, and neck, which are those of a human being, remain uncovered, as also the back, which is that of a lion ; the neck is very

Unpractical character of their descriptions.

Speedy filling up of the excavations round the Sphinx.

* " Son élévation, d'environ 13 mètres au-dessus du sol actuel, reste comme témoin et comme mesure de l'enlèvement des pierres qui a été fait à la superficie pour dresser cette partie de la montagne. La croupe, à peine sensible, semble seulement tracée sur le sol dans une longueur de près de 22 mètres ; et le côté que nous avons voulu découvrir, en faisant enlever la sable que les vents ont accumulé jusqu'au niveau de la montagne, ne nous a offert, sur une profondeur de 9 à 10 mètres environ, aucune forme régulière : quant à l'excavation qui avait été remarquée sur la tête, elle n'est profonde que de 2 mètres 924 millimètres, d'une forme unique et irrégulière." — *Déscription de l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 52, *Antiquités*.

Curious appearance of the head.

much eroded, and, to a person near, the head seems as if it were too heavy for its support. The head-dress has the appearance of an old-fashioned wig, projecting out about the ears like the hair of the Berber Arabs ; the ears project considerably, the nose is broken, the whole face has been painted red, which is the colour assigned to the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, and to all the deities of the country except Osiris. The features are Nubian, or what, from certain representations, may be called ancient Egyptian, which is quite different from the negro feature. The expression is particularly placid and benign ; so much so, that the worshipper of the sphinx might extol it as superior to all the other gods of wood and stone which the blinded nations adored.*

No opening was found in the body of the statue, whereby to ascertain whether it is hollow or not ; though we learn from Dr Pococke that there is an entrance both in the back and in the top of the head, the latter of which, he thinks, might serve for the arts of the priests in uttering oracles, while the former might be meant for descending to the apartments beneath.†

As to the dimensions of the figure, the traveller last named ascertained the head and neck to be twenty-seven feet high ; the breast thirty-three feet wide ; and the entire length about a hundred and thirty. Pliny estimated it at a hundred and thirteen feet long, and sixty-three in height. According to Dr Richardson, the stretch of the back is about a hundred and twenty feet, and the elevation of the head above the sand from thirty to thirty-five,—a result which accords pretty nearly with the measurement of Coutelle. It is obvious, at the same time, that the discrepancy in these reports, as to the elevation of the figure, must be attributed to the varying depth of the sand, which appears to have accumulated greatly since the days of the Roman naturalist. The sphinx was entire in the time of Abdollatiph, who describes its graceful appearance and the admirable propor-

Probability of internal apartments.

Dimensions of the sphinx.

* Travels, vol. i. p. 152.

† Vol. i. p. 46.

tion in the different features of the countenance, which excited his astonishment above every thing he had seen in Egypt. Makrisi states that it was mutilated by the Sheik Mohammed, who, in the spirit of a true Mussulman, thought himself bound to destroy all images, and every thing indeed which bore the slightest resemblance to a living creature. He was called the Faster,—an expression which denoted his rigid adherence to the rules of his church ; while the attack now described, as well as that on the stone lions at the gates of Cairo, established his reputation as a furious bigot.

The learned have indulged in the utmost latitude of conjecture respecting the design of such figures. As they are all found near temples and consecrated buildings, it has been justly inferred that their emblematical form must have had some relation to the theological opinions or religious rites of the ancient Egyptians. According to some authors, the countenance of a beautiful woman, combined with the body of a lion or other animal, intimated the alluring aspect with which vice at first assails the unwary, and the besotted monsters which she makes them when caught in her fangs. Others, again, have regarded them as astronomical symbols, marking the passage of the sun from the sign Leo into that of Virgo, and thereby shadowing forth the happy period when the overflowing of the Nile diffuses the blessings of health and plenty throughout the whole land. To us the import of this vast piece of sculpture appears somewhat more profound and mystical. The philosophers of the East, who accustomed themselves to view the created universe as the effect of a certain mysterious generation, naturally regarded the First Cause as combining both sexes, as exercising, in a manner entirely incomprehensible to the human intellect, the male and the female energies, and thereby becoming the parent of every thing that exists. It will, accordingly, be found that to the sphinx are ascribed attributes which do not belong to a man or to a woman singly, and which cannot be united in the same figure without representing that

Supposed
symbolic
meaning.

CHAP. IV imaginary hermaphrodite which the refined speculation of the Orientals has enshrined in the darkest recesses of their mystic theology.* On a subject, however, so far removed from the ordinary path of investigation in modern times, and so little likely either to instruct or amuse, it may be sufficient to have suggested materials for reflection to such as are inclined to enter at greater length upon such abstruse inquiries.

Observations of Herodotus. Connected with the stupendous undertakings of the Egyptian architects, there is an occurrence mentioned by Herodotus, to which we shall merely direct the attention of the reader. Alluding to a temple erected at Sais in honour of Minerva, the historian observes that what, in his opinion, was most of all to be admired, was a sanctuary brought by Amasis from Elephantiné, consisting of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all sailors, for the whole period of three years. The length of this edifice, if it may be so called, was twenty-one cubits, the width fourteen, and the height eight. It was placed at the entrance of the temple; and the reason assigned for its being carried no farther is, that the architect, reflecting upon his long fatigue, sighed deeply, and thereby alarmed the superstition of the king, who considered it as a bad omen. Some, however, affirm that one of the men employed in working a lever was crushed to death,—an event which discouraged the monarch, and induced him to desist from his enterprise.†

* “Les Sphinx des Egyptiens ont les deux sexes, c'est à dire, qu'ils sont féminelles par devant, ayant une tête de femme,—et mâles derrière.....C'est une remarque que personne n'avait encore faite. Il résulte, de l'inspection de quelques monumens, que les artistes Grecs donnaient aussi des natures composées à ces êtres mixtes, et qu'ils faisaient même des sphinx barbus, comme le preuve un bas-relief en terre cuite conservé à la Farnesina. Lorsque Herodote nomme les sphinx des *androsphinges*, il a voulu designer par cette expression la duplicité de leur sexe. Les sphinx qui sont aux quatre faces de la pointe de l'obélisque du soleil, sont remarquables par leurs mains d'hommes armées d'ongles crochus, comme les griffes des bêtes féroces.”—Winkleman.

† Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 175.

We know that the practice of erecting monolithic temples, or sanctuaries hollowed out in a single stone, was very general in Egypt; some striking specimens being still preserved in the higher parts of the country. But it may be questioned whether the power of modern mechanics could remove from the quarry, and convey to the distance of four hundred miles, a mass of rock thirty-two feet long, twenty-one broad, and twelve in height. It is only in a nation where the pyramids continue to bear witness to the astonishing effects produced by labour and perseverance that such things must not be pronounced incredible. The obelisks, too, some of which adorn more than one capital city in Europe, prove that the resources of the Egyptian engineer are not to be measured by the progress of similar arts, at the same period, in any part of Italy or Greece.

CHAP. IV.
Erection of
monolithic
temples.

But our limits forbid us to indulge in details. We hasten, therefore, to leave the vast cemetery which surrounded the ancient Memphis, and of which the pyramids may be considered as the principal decorations, by noticing the researches of Mr Salt and his coadjutor Caviglia, in the ruined edifices or tombs which crowd the neighbourhood of Djizeh. Viewed from the monument of Cheops, they appear in countless multitudes, scattered without order among the larger buildings, like the graves in a churchyard around the church, and extend towards the north and south along the left bank of the Nile as far as the eye can reach. These remains of antiquity were noticed by Pecocke and other travellers, but were not till lately examined with the attention which they appear to deserve. They are described as being generally of an oblong form, having their walls slightly inclined from the perpendicular inwards,—the peculiar characteristic of ancient Egyptian architecture,—flat-roofed, with a sort of parapet round the outside formed of stones, rounded at the top, and rising about a foot and a half above the level of the terrace. The walls are constructed of large masses of rock of irregular shape, seldom rectangular, though neatly fitted to each other, somewhat

Tombs of
Djizeh.

Description
of them.

CHAP. IV in the manner of the Cyclopean structures, as they are called, which are seen in various parts of Greece.

Interior of a Mausoleum.

The first of these mausoleums examined by Mr Caviglia was found to have the inside walls covered with stucco, and embellished with rude paintings, one of which, though much defaced, evidently represented the sacred boat, while another displayed a procession of figures, each carrying a lotus in his hand. At the southern extremity were several mouldering mummies laid one over another in a recumbent posture. Many of the bones remained entire, among which was a skull with part of its cloth-covering inscribed with hieroglyphs. The second edifice he explored had no paintings, but contained several fragments of statues. In one of the chambers were found two pieces of marble composing an entire figure, almost as large as life, in the act of walking, with the left leg stretched forward, and the two arms hanging down and resting on the thighs. From the position of this statue, as also from that of a pedestal and the foot of another figure, in a different chamber, both facing the openings into the respective apartments, it is supposed they were so placed for the express purpose of being seen by the friends of the deceased from an adjoining corridor; the statues themselves bearing evident marks of being intended for portraits of persons whom they were meant to represent. The several parts are marked with a strict attention to nature, and coloured after life, having artificial eyes of glass or transparent stones to give them the air of living men. A head was discovered, but it did not exactly fit the statue in question, though it probably belonged to the foot and pedestal; but its chief value consisted in its similarity of style and features to that of the sphinx, having the same facial line, the same sweetness of expression and marking in the mouth, and the same roundness and peculiarity which characterize the rest of the countenance,—circumstances which tend to prove its great antiquity. In removing the fragments, eight hours were employed in enlarging the opening of the chamber, so as to enable the workmen to force them

Marble figure.

Characteristics of individual portraiture.

through ; whence it is evident that the statue must have CHAP. IV.
been placed in its cell before the edifice was completely finished. The same observation, indeed, applies to the pyramids ; the sarcophagus, and other remains of art contained in them, must have been introduced before the passages were lined with granite, the space being now too contracted to admit of their conveyance in a perfect state.

It has been remarked that the fragments found in these High character
tombs, composed of alabaster as well as of the hardest rock, give a much higher idea of Egyptian sculpture than
has usually been entertained ; the utmost attention being shown by the artist to the anatomical properties of the human figure, to the swell of the muscles and the knitting of the joints.

In a third of these stone edifices was a boat of a large Sculptured
size, sculptured with a square sail, different from any Boat

now employed on the Nile. In the first chamber of this building were paintings in bas-relief, of men, deer, and birds,—the men engaged in planning and preparing certain pieces of furniture, hewing blocks of wood, and pressing skins either of wine or oil. The top of the second chamber is hollowed out in the form of an arch ; and in this apartment the figures and hieroglyphs are exceedingly beautiful. On the right is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit ; and, a little farther on, a number of men engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture,—ploughing, hoeing up the ground, bringing in their corn on asses, and storing it in the magazines. On the west are several vases painted in the most vivid colours ; and on the south a band of musicians playing on the harp, flute, and a species of clarionet, together with a group of dancing women, tinged of a yellow colour, as is the case in most of the temples of Upper Egypt. In the same structure are two other chambers, one unembellished, the other having on its walls a variety of carved figures and hieroglyphs. In a fifth of these funereal dwellings were similar inscriptions on a thick coat of white plaster, executed, as it would appear, with a wooden stamp or mould.

Representations on the walls.

CHAP. IV.

Interiors
of other
ancient
sepulchres.

Many others of these ancient sepulchres were cleared out, and found to consist of a number of different apartments, variously disposed, but similarly decorated with carvings and paintings, corresponding, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them ; one in particular, from the delicacy of its colours, its pleasing aspect, and superior style of execution, was deemed deserving of the closest attention. It is farther observed, that in all of them there were discovered fragments of bitumen, great quantities of mummy-cloth and of human bones, which seemed to remove all doubt of their having served the purpose of entombing the dead. A very important circumstance yet remains to be noticed. In some one apartment of all these monumental edifices was a deep shaft or well, from the bottom of which a narrow passage conducted to a subterranean chamber. One of these shafts cleared out by Mr Caviglia was sixty feet deep, and in the room a little to the south of the lower extremity of the pit was standing, without a lid, a plain but highly-finished sarcophagus, of the same dimensions nearly as that in the pyramid of Cheops, though still more exquisitely polished. This discovery supplies a strong argument in support of the opinion that all the pyramids were used as sepulchres, whatever may have been their primary and more important object.

Opinion of
Mr. Salt as to
their age.

As to the comparative antiquity of the mausoleums just described, Mr Salt entertained an opinion different from that of most writers ; considering the ground in which they stand as the burial-place of the kings of Egypt prior to the construction of the pyramids, and as having been connected with Heliopolis before the seat of government was transferred to Memphis. The more general belief, however, is, that these edifices are not only much more recent than the vast structures which they surround, but that in a majority of cases they are composed of the coating of the pyramids, removed from the surface of the latter either by violence or by the effects of time. As a confirmation of this view, it may

be stated that the walls of these tombs are formed of CHAP. IV.
 the same kind of stones which were used for coating the
 more majestic monuments, and covered with hieroglyphs,
 as were also the casings of the pyramids at a remote
 epoch. On these last Abdollatiph says that he himself
 saw as many inscriptions as would fill ten thousand
 volumes ; and other authors have recorded the same
 fact in language equally strong. A circumstance men-
 tioned by Mr Salt appears to be completely decisive of
 the question. He saw a stone, bearing an inscription of ^{Prior} _{incription.}
 hieroglyphs and figures, built into one of the walls
 upside down,—a fact which proves beyond a doubt that
 it had constituted a part of some other structure before
 it was placed in its present position. It is probable, too,
 that the little mounds which diversify the surface of the
 neighbouring country were originally buildings of the
 same description, but of a still higher antiquity ; and
 that they have gradually mouldered down into the shape
 they now exhibit, under the pressure of age and the
 wasting influence of the elements.

In examining the interesting district which includes Djizeh, Abousir, Sakhara, and Dashour, and which may even be regarded as extending to the borders of Lake Mœris, the contemplative spirit finds itself in a great city of the dead,—reading the annals of a mighty people, the impressions of whose power and genius are most closely associated with emblems of mortality,—whose thoughts must have been constantly occupied with the value of posthumous fame, and who appear to have spent their lives in preparing a receptacle for the body after all its earthly attachments should have passed away. At the present hour, the wide plain of Memphis is in the possession of those who urged its labours or presided over its affairs three thousand years ago. The peasant or the traveller, accordingly, who seeks a dwelling in that desolate region, must enter the precincts of a tomb, share an apartment with bones which have been insensible during many centuries, and be surrounded with figures and inscriptions which point to events not recorded ^{Impressive character of these remains.} _{Present occupants.}

CHAP. IV.

Evidence
of former
greatness.

in any other history. No nation of the ancient world has so successfully perpetuated its existence through the medium of death. The actual inhabitants of Egypt sink into insignificance when compared with the mouldering dust of their ancestors ; and the proudest edifices which they have raised since the days of the Pharaohs, produce not on the mind of the spectator any other feeling than that the sons have gradually degenerated from the power or ambition of their fathers.

Canals and
water-
courses.

Among the mechanical labours of the ancient Egyptians, we ought to enumerate some of those extensive canals, or water-courses, which were constructed either for the purpose of irrigation, or of facilitating the transactions of commerce. In reference to the former class we might make bold to assert that Joseph's River was only one instance out of many in which the skill of the artificer rivalled the magnificence of nature ; and that Egypt, at an early period, presented a variety of other excavations worthy of the people who planned the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, and the Lake of Moeris. But our remarks must now be confined to a single example of the latter species of water-conveyance, the canal, namely, which connected the Nile near Bubastis, with the Red Sea at Arsinoë, a town which stood in the vicinity of the modern Suez.

Junction
with the
Mediterra-
nean.

The direct distance from the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf to the nearest part of the Mediterranean, is about seventy-five miles ; and to the site of the ancient Bubastis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, almost precisely the same. The length of a canal from sea to sea, following the most suitable ground, would be ninety-three miles,—and that of the ancient excavation, from the Arabian Gulf to the river, was about ninety-two. Some learned moderns, perplexed by the vague and contradictory statements of the Greek and Roman writers respecting this canal, have called in question its existence altogether, except partially as an aqueduct for irrigation. The survey, however, made by the French in 1799, has not only removed these doubts, but ascer-

tained the precise line on which the work must have been executed. Of the ninety-two miles of water-communication of which it consisted, it appears that not less than sixty-five were accomplished by human labour ; and of that portion about one-half yet exists in a state more or less perfect. In many parts it is still so entire that its dimensions can be measured with great accuracy ; and little more than cleaning out would be required to render it again fitted for the uses of navigation.

This great work may be considered as comprehending four distinct sections. The first begins about a mile and a half northward of Suez, and extends across the low sandy isthmus to the Bitter Lakes. Its length is about thirteen miles and a half. Over the whole of this space, with a few exceptions, the vestiges of the canal can be distinctly traced. The remains of the walls or banks are from twelve to twenty-four feet in height ; and the space between these, or width of the water-course, is generally about fifty yards.

The second section consists of the basin of the Bitter Lakes, twenty-seven miles long, and from five to seven miles broad, running in a north-westerly direction. No cutting or embanking would be required here ; the depth of the valley being from twenty-five to sixty feet below the high-water-mark at Suez, and in some parts twenty-four feet below that of the Mediterranean at Tineh. There is no doubt that these lakes are the *lacus amari* of Pliny. At present the basin contains no water, with the exception of some pools in the deepest parts. The ruins of the *Serapeum*, or temple of Serapis, are still to be seen at the northern extremity.

The boundary of this basin is accurately traced on the declivities by lines of gravel, shells, and marine debris, of the same kind, and precisely at the same level, with those found at the high-water-mark on the beach of the Red Sea. Hence M. Bois Aymé maintains, that the Bitter Lakes were, at no very remote period, a part of the Arabian Gulf. The low bank, which now divides the lakes from that sea, may, he thinks, have been ori-

CHAP. IV.

Remains of
the Great
Canal.Its four sec-
tions.The Bitter
Lake.Margin of
this basin.

CHAP. IV. ginally thrown up by a tempest, and afterwards raised by drift-sands, and by soil washed down from the heights. If these facts be correctly stated, there can indeed be no doubt that the Bitter Lakes have at one time formed part of the Gulf, connecting it, probably, at high water, with the Mediterranean, as there is at present no natural barrier which could have prevented this junction in the line now suggested.

The third section passes through the Wady of Tomlat, a distance of nearly forty miles. This valley is from half a mile to two miles in breadth. Its bottom is about thirty feet lower than the level of the surrounding desert, and nearly as much below the tide of the Arabian Gulf. To exclude the waters of the Nile it is shut by a transverse dike at Abaceh, by another at Ras el Wady near the middle, and by a third elevation, either natural or artificial, at the Serapeum, where it terminates. The canal runs along the northern side, where the surface of the ground is some feet higher than the rest of the valley ; so that the water collected in it can be conveniently used for irrigation. In the western half of the valley the canal is very entire. In the eastern half, beyond Ras el Wady, the accumulating drift-sands of the desert have obliterated all traces of the work, except at particular spots. In this tract it is observed that it must have had a greater breadth than elsewhere, and probably also a greater depth, to provide against the depositories of sand. M. Le Pere, the engineer, thinks that a branch of the Nile has at one time flowed through this hollow,—an opinion which is not destitute of probability, the bottom being, for many miles, two or three feet lower than the surface of the Mediterranean. But it has been remarked that the river must have relinquished this channel at a very remote period ; for the Pelusiac branch, which was described as the most eastern by the ancient Greek writers, has been distinctly traced at the distance of twenty or thirty miles to the northward.*

Wady of
Tomlat.

Remains in
the western
valley

* The Wady of Tomlat is said to contain about 20,000 acres of good soil, which still bears an abundant growth of shrubs and copse-wood

The fourth section of this great work reached from CHAP. IV.
the entrance of the valley, at Abaceh, to Bubastis on
the Nile ; the length being computed at about twelve miles. The country in this neighbourhood being regularly covered by the annual floods of the river, is all under cultivation, and traversed by a number of aqueducts now used solely for the purposes of agriculture, though some of them are believed to be the remains of the ancient canal.

The general features of this inland navigation will now Its general
be tolerably understood. It consisted, according to the features.
French engineers, of a canal extending upon one level, from Bubastis to Arsinoë, and carrying the waters of the Nile to the Red Sea. Its breadth, in the section between the Bitter Lakes and the Arabian Gulf, appears to have been about 120 feet at the water-line. At the other end, where it received a greater quantity of fluid, it was probably one-half broader ; and towards the middle, from Ras el Wady to the Serapeum, where the walls were of less firm materials, and the drift-sands more frequent, there are vestiges which indicate that its width must have exceeded 200 feet. Of the depth the surveyors Remains of
do not speak very decisively. Between the Red Sea and the walls.
the Bitter Lakes the walls were found reaching down from twelve to twenty-four feet ; but this included the thickness of the earth accumulated on the banks from repeated clearings. The probability is, that the extreme depth of this part, when the cavity was full, was from twelve to fifteen feet ; that the walls rose two or three feet higher ; and that the water-line, at the height of the inundation, was about twenty-eight feet above the

Its breadth has formerly been much greater than it is at present ; for the moveable sands of the desert, which form hillocks thirty or forty feet high, on the southern side, are swept into it by the wind, and are thus continually encroaching upon the arable surface. It is believed, with good reason, to be the *Land of Goshen*, the original settlement of the Israelites in Egypt. Some ruins found at Aboukeshed are supposed to mark the site of Heroopolis, an ancient town of some importance, and usually identified with the Pithom of the Scriptures.

CHAP. IV. Mediterranean, or from two to three feet above low-water at Arsinoë.

Ancient accounts of the Canal.

Diodorus.

Strabo.

Pliny.

Aristotle, Pliny, and Strabo, ascribe the cutting of this canal to Sesostris. The two former say it was abandoned in consequence of discovering that the waters of the Red Sea were on a higher level than the surface of the land in the Delta. Strabo mentions this opinion, but treats it as unfounded. Herodotus states that the design was first undertaken by Necos, the son of Psammeticus, about 600 years before Christ, and was completed by Darius Hystaspes ; that the canal was filled by the water of the Nile, which it joined a little above Bubastis ; and that it terminated in the Arabian Gulf, near the city of Patumos.* Diodorus likewise informs us that the work was begun by Necos, carried on by Darius, but afterwards abandoned from the apprehension of the danger to which Egypt would be exposed by the waters of the Red Sea ; that it was completed by Ptolemy the Second ; that it extended from the Gulf to the Bay of Pelusium ; and that it had sluices or gates, ingeniously constructed, which were opened to afford a passage to ships, and quickly shut again.† According to Strabo, certain lakes above Pelusium in the desert were connected with the Red Sea at Arsinoë by one channel, and with the Delta by another. The water of these lakes, which was originally bitter, had been sweetened by the introduction of that of the Nile. The work, he adds, was completed by Ptolemy, who constructed a kind of lock or gate, which afforded an easy passage from the sea to the canal, and from the canal to the sea.‡ Pliny states that the excavation reached only from the Nile to the Bitter Lakes, and was 37,500 paces, or about thirty-four English miles in length ; its extension southwards having been found to threaten Egypt with inundation, the soil of which was estimated to be at least three cubits lower than the waters of the Red Sea.§

* Euterpe, 158.

‡ Lib. xvii.

† Lib. i. sect. i.

§ Lib. xvi. c. 29.

These statements, which are apparently contradictory, CHAP. IV. may be reconciled with one another by supposing that the canal had been repeatedly opened from the Delta to the Arabian Gulf; but that, the communication to the sea being difficult, and only available for ships during a very limited period, this southern section of the work had been occasionally closed up again, and abandoned. The other section, including the Wady and the Bitter Lakes, would be serviceable for a much longer period, and might be kept more generally open. The difference of level between the river and the Red Sea was, it is obvious, perfectly understood; and the waters of the latter, if admitted in sufficient quantity, would really have submerged the Delta, as Diodorus and Pliny believed. In this, as in various other cases, we find that the statements of the ancient classical writers, which by some moderns have been hastily rejected as fabulous, are strictly correct.

The accounts which those authors have transmitted as to the dimensions of the canal are not very different from the results deduced from an examination of its remains. Herodotus says it required four days for a vessel to pass through it; and as the length was about ninety-two miles, this supposes a day's sail to be twenty-three miles,—an estimate quite consistent with modern experience. It may be assumed that the vessels were towed, except in the Bitter Lakes, where sails were probably employed. The same author states, that the canal width. was broad enough to admit two *triremes* to move abreast. Pliny calculates its width at 100 feet, and Strabo at 100 cubits, or 150 feet. All three may be correct, because the breadth must have varied with the nature of the ground, and, as the vestiges still show, did actually vary from 100 to 200 feet or upwards. With regard to the Depth. depth, the latter remarks that it was sufficient to afford water for the *myriophoroi*, or ships of the largest size. The former speaks more precisely, and mentions thirty feet. In fact, as the natural bottom of the canal, in the Wady Tomlat, must have been in many places several

Reconcile-
ment of
different
statements.

Accuracy of
ancient
accounts.

CHAP. IV. feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and as the walls must have had height enough to receive the floods of the river, which, in this valley, are computed to rise to twenty-eight feet above that level, it is obvious that one portion of the canal, during the inundation of the Nile, could not have less depth than the Roman naturalist assigns to it.

Reconstruction by Caliph Omar.

About the year 644 of the Christian era, this water-communication was re-established by the Caliph Omar on a greatly improved plan. Instead of being connected with the Nile at Bubastis, it was carried southward as far as the capital by a branch called the canal of Cairo. It is indeed doubtful whether this section did not exist as far back as the time of the Ptolemies, at least for the purpose of irrigation. Parts of it still remain; and its complete restoration entered into the plan contemplated by the French. The navigation from the Nile to the Red Sea continued open, under the Mohammedan princes, more than a hundred and twenty years. It has now been shut upwards of a thousand, though the project of re-establishing so important a communication has been repeatedly submitted to the Turkish government.

Contemplated restoration by the French.

Various estimates and measurements were made by the engineers under Bonaparte, who calculated that the expense of once more connecting the Nile and the Red Sea, by means of a regular canal, would not exceed £700,000 sterling, and that the work might be accomplished in four years. Were this undertaking completed, and steam-vessels employed, it is probable that the voyage from England to Bombay, which at present occupies about 120 days, might be performed in less than forty.*

We reserve for another chapter an account of the ruins, more strictly architectural, which continue to mark the position of the ancient cities, especially in the upper division of the kingdom.

* See an able article in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, No. xxvi. p. 474, by Charles Maclaren, Esq., and drawn up on the authority of the statements contained in the *Description de l'Egypte*, —a work sanctioned by the French government.

CHAPTER V.

Literature and Science of the Ancient Egyptians.

Remains of Egyptian Literature scanty but valuable—Meaning of Hieroglyphics—Picture-writing—Progress towards an Alphabet; Illustrated by the Hebrew and other Oriental Tongues—Different Modes of Writing practised by the Egyptians, Epistolographic, Hieratic, and Hieroglyphic properly so called—Discovery of Rosetta Stone—Researches of Dr Young and Champollion—The Practice of Chinese in rendering Words Phonetic—The Advantages of the Hieroglyphical Method—Discoveries of Mr Salt—Anecdote of King Thamus—Works of Thoth or Hermes—Quotation of Clemens Alexandrinus—Greeks learned History from Egypt—The Numerical System of the ancient Egyptians—The Arabians derived their Arithmetical Signs from Egyptians.

THE materials for this section of our work are neither abundant nor various ; but they are, nevertheless, extremely interesting, and point out, in a manner free from all ambiguity, the first steps taken by man in his attempts to communicate his thoughts through the medium of written language. The literature of ancient Egypt, we must admit, does not, like that of Greece, call forth our admiration by splendid poems and regular histories ; nor, like that of the Hebrews, by preserving the events of the primeval world in a record dictated by the Spirit of Truth. But, notwithstanding, in the brief notices which have come down to our age of the methods adopted by the early Egyptians for giving permanency to their conceptions, we have a treasure which, to the philosopher, is more valuable than the sublime verses of Homer, and, in a merely grammatical point of view, not

CHAP. V.

Pancity of
materials.Contrast with
Greek and
Hebrew
literature.

CHAP. V.

System of
hieroglyphics.Meaning of
the term.Origin of
hieroglyphics.Mexican
picture writ-
ing.

inferior to the inspired narrative of Moses itself. We allude to the system of hieroglyphics ; the knowledge of which is very important, both as exhibiting authentic specimens of picture-writing,—the original expedient of the rude annalist,—and also as indicating the path which led to that nobler invention,—the use of an alphabet.

The term *hieroglyph* literally denotes sacred sculpture, and was employed by the Greeks in reference to those figures and inscriptions which they found engraven on the temples, sepulchres, and other public buildings of Egypt. The practice, however, out of which it arose, appears to be common to the whole human race in the first stage of civilisation ; being dictated to them by necessity, and suggested by the most obvious associations. Man learns to paint before he attempts to write ; he draws the outline of a figure long before he is able to describe an event ; he confines his representations to the eye during ages in which he can find no more direct means of addressing the understanding, or of amusing the fancy. In the beginning of society, all communication not strictly verbal is carried on through the medium of picture-writing ; and this imperfect method continues in all countries until a happy accident, or the visit of a more refined people, makes known the secret of alphabetical notation.

When, for example, the Spaniards first landed on the shores of America, the event was announced to the inhabitants of the interior by rough drawings of men, arms, and ships ; some specimens of which have been preserved by Purchas, to whose laborious diligence we are indebted for the best account of European discovery and conquest in the western hemisphere. But, generally speaking, the aid of an alphabet so completely supersedes the more primitive usage, that, in most countries, all traces of the latter are speedily forgotten ; and it is only by a remote and rather indistinct species of reasoning, that the philosophical grammarian endeavours to connect the refined literature of a polished age with the rude efforts made

by the savage to embody his thoughts in external signs. CHAP. V.
 The monuments of Egypt, from their extreme durability, supply a history, which nowhere else exists, of the successive steps that conduct mankind from the first point to the last, in the important art now under our consideration. Our limits will not permit us to enter into an investigation which would itself occupy an entire volume; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a general statement of first principles, and to such an illustration of them as may prove intelligible to the young reader, who may not have other opportunities of studying this important subject.

Value of
Egyptian
monuments.

The first and simplest expedient, then, is that already mentioned, of attempting to convey and perpetuate the knowledge of an event by forming a rude picture of it. The inconvenience inseparable from such a method would soon suggest the practice of reducing the delineation, and of substituting a sword for an armed man, a flag for an invading host, and a curved line for a ship. In the earlier stages of contraction, the abbreviated forms would still retain a faint resemblance to the original figure; but in process of time, as the number of ideas and relations increased, the signs would deviate farther from the likeness of an object, and assume more and more the character of a conventional mark, expressive of thought as well as of mere existence. At this era, however, which may be regarded as the second in order, every sign would continue to be a separate word, denoting some individual thing, together with all the circumstances and associated reflections which could be conveyed by so imperfect a vehicle.

First process
of writing.

Contractiona.

It may here be noticed that the language of China at the present day retains the aspect now described. Attached to old habits, or repelled from imitation by the contempt which usually attaches to ignorance, the people of that vast empire refuse to adopt the grammatical improvements of Europe, which would lead them to analyze their written speech into its alphabetical elements. Their composition, accordingly, still consists of ■ set of

Chinese
language.

CHAP. V.

Practical difficulties.

Progress of language.

Egyptian phonetics.

Examples.

Results of the system.

Greek imitations.

words or marks expressive of certain ideas ; becoming, of course, more complicated as the thoughts to be conveyed are more numerous or subtle, and requiring, at length, a great degree of very painful and unprofitable study to comprehend their full import.

The third and most valuable movement in the progress of grammatical invention, is that which provides a sign for expressing a *sound* instead of denoting a thing, and dissects human speech into letters instead of stopping at words. The apparatus for accomplishing this object appears to have been at the first sufficiently awkward and inconvenient. In order to write the name of a man, for example, the ingenuity of the Egyptian philologist could suggest nothing more suitable than to arrange, in a given space, a certain number of objects, the initial letters of which, when pronounced, would furnish the several sounds required. For instance, if a person following that scheme of notation wished to record that Pompey had landed in Egypt, he would describe the action by the wonted signs employed in picture-writing ; but to express the appellation of the general, he would find it necessary to draw as many objects as would supply in the first letters of their names, *P, o, m, p, e, y*. In writing the word London, on this principle, we might take the figures of a *lion*, of an *oak*, of a *net*, of a *door*, of an *oval*, and of a *nail* ; the initial sounds or first letters of which words would give the name of the British capital.

After a certain period there arose, from these modified hieroglyphs, a regular alphabet constructed so as to represent and express the various sounds uttered by the human voice. This invention, being subsequently communicated to the Greeks, contributed in a great measure to their improvement, and laid the foundation of their literary fame. The gift of Cadmus, who conveyed sixteen letters across the Mediterranean, is celebrated in the traditional history of the nation upon whom it was conferred ; and hence the arrival of that renowned adventurer from the coast of Egypt continues to be mentioned as the epoch when civilisation and a knowledge

of the fine arts were first received by the barbarians of eastern Europe. The trading communities, which had already stationed themselves on the shores of Syria, were probably, as we have elsewhere suggested, the medium of intercourse between Egypt and Greece,—a supposition which enables us to account for the similarity, observed by every scholar, in the more ancient form of their alphabetical characters. But, whatever ground there may be for this conjecture, there is no doubt that the process detected in the Egyptian monuments reveals the important secret which the philosophical grammarian has so long laboured to discover.

As a proof, and at the same time an illustration of the argument now advanced, we may recall to the mind of the oriental student that the alphabet of the Hebrew, as well as of the other cognate tongues, is in fact a list of names, and that the original form of the letters bore a resemblance to the objects which they were used to express. Aleph, Beth, Gimel, which in the common language of the country denoted an ox, a house, a camel, were at first pictures or rude likenesses of a dwelling and of the two animals just specified ; proceeding on the very familiar system, not yet exploded in books for children, where an ass, a bull, and a cat, are associated with the three first letters of the Roman alphabet. The process of abbreviation, which is rapidly applied by an improving people to all the technical properties of language, soon substituted an arbitrary sign for the complete portrait, and restricted the use of the alphabetical symbol to the representation of an elementary sound.

But in Egypt the use of the hieroglyph was not entirely superseded by the invention of an alphabet. For many purposes connected with religion, and even with the more solemn occupations of civil life, the emblematical style of composition continued to enjoy a preference ; on a principle similar to that which disposes the Jew to perform his worship in Hebrew, and the Roman Catholic in Latin. There appears also to have been a mixed language used by the priests, partaking at once of hiero-

CHAP. V.
Ancient
trading
communities.

Hebrew
characters.

Their origin.

Egyptian
preference
for emble-
matic writ-
ing.

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Hieratic
writing.Description
of Clemens
Alexan-
drinus.

Examples.

glyphs and of alphabetical characters ; which, in allusion to the class of men by whom it was employed, was denominated hieratic. The Egyptians accordingly found themselves in possession of three different modes of communication,—the hieroglyphic, properly so called ; the hieratic ; and the demotic or common. This distinction is clearly recognised in the following well-known passage, extracted from the works of Clemens Alexandrinus.

Those who are educated among the Egyptians, says he, learn first of all the method of writing called the Epistolographic ; secondly, the Hieratic, which the sacred scribes employ ; and, lastly, the most mysterious description, the Hieroglyphic, of which there are two kinds, —the one denoting objects, in a direct manner, by means of the *initial sounds* of words ; the other is symbolical. Of the symbolical signs one class represents objects by exhibiting a likeness or picture ; another, by a metaphorical or less complete resemblance ; and a third, by means of certain allegorical enigmas. Thus,—to give an example of the three methods in the symbolical division,—when they wish to represent an object by the first, they fix upon a distinct resemblance ; such as a circle, when they want to indicate the sun, and a crescent, when their purpose is to denote the moon. The second, or metaphorical, allows a considerable freedom in selecting the emblem, and may be such as only suggests the object by analogous qualities. For instance, when they record the praises of kings in their theological fables, they exhibit them in connexion with figurative allusions which shadow forth their good actions and benign dispositions. In this case the representation is not direct but metaphorical. Of the third method of symbolical writing, the following will serve as an example : they assimilate the oblique course of the planets to the body of a serpent, and that of the sun to the figure of a scarabæus.*

* I have given a paraphrase rather than a literal version ; the original not admitting of a strict rendering without sacrificing the sense of the author, which alone I have endeavoured to retain.

In the above extract there is mention made of that species of hieroglyphics which express objects by the *initial letters*,—a remark that is now perfectly intelligible, but which, till the year 1814, presented a most perplexing enigma to the ablest scholars in Europe. It does not properly belong to the business of this chapter to give a history of the various steps that finally led to a discovery of the path which promised to conduct the scholar to the richest treasures of ancient Egyptian learning ; but as the subject is of considerable interest, and affords at the same time a striking instance of the success which hardly ever fails to reward an enlightened perseverance, we shall enter into a few details.

When the French were in Egypt they discovered, in the foundation of a fort near Rosetta, a block or slab of basalt, which presented an inscription in three distinct languages, namely, the sacred letters, the letters of the country, and the Greek. The first class obviously comprehends the hieroglyphic and hieratic, the mode of writing used by the priests ; while the second not less manifestly identifies itself with what Clemens calls the Epistolographic, and which is now usually particularized as demotic or common. Unfortunately a considerable part of the first inscription was wanting ; the beginning of the second and the end of the third were also mutilated ; so that there were no precise points of coincidence from which the expounder could set out in his attempt to decipher the unknown characters. But the second inscription, notwithstanding its deficiencies near the beginning, was still sufficiently perfect to allow a comparison to be made of its different parts with each other, and with the Greek, by the same method which would have been followed if it had been entire. Thus, on examining, in their relative situation, the parts corresponding to two passages of the Greek inscription in which *Alexander* and *Alexandria* occurred, there were soon recognised two well-marked groups of characters resembling each other, which were therefore considered as representing these names. A variety of similar coin-

The Rosetta
Stone.

Its deficien-
cies.

Comparison
of the in-
scription.

CHAP. V.
Coi[n]cidences
detected.

cidences were detected, and especially that between a certain assemblage of figures and the word Ptolemy, which occurred no fewer than fourteen times ; and hence, as the Greek was known to be a translation of the Egyptian symbols, the task of the decipherer was limited to a discovery of the alphabetical power of the several marks, or objects, which denoted that particular name. It was by pursuing this path that success was ultimately attained ; it being satisfactorily made out that hieroglyphs not only expressed ideas, or represented *things*, but also that they were frequently used as letters ; and that, when employed for the last of these purposes, the names of the several objects in the Coptic or ancient language of the country supplied the alphabetical sounds which composed any particular word.

The first steps which led to this important discovery were made by Dr Young, who ascertained that certain figures in the group, corresponding to the word Ptolemy, were used alphabetically, and represented sounds. Hence the distinction of *phonetic* or vocal hieroglyphs as opposed to those which are understood to denote objects only. It was fondly hoped that a key was thereby found for unlocking the storehouses of Egyptian learning, which had remained inaccessible to many generations ; and, whether the treasure shall prove equal in value to the expectations which have been entertained of it, there is still, it is thought, the greatest probability that the famed wisdom of one of the most ancient nations of the world shall yet be rendered familiar to the modern reader. Already, indeed, we are told that history and chronology have received essential aid from the investigations of recent travellers, guided by the light which has just been revealed. The names of some of the most distinguished Egyptian princes, even of the Pharaonic dynasties, have been deciphered from monuments erected during their respective reigns. The canon of Manetho, which it had become so common to treat with contempt, has been verified in many points ; and in this way the titles of several monarchs which had been aban-

Dr. Thomas
Young.

Present
results.

doned as fabulous, including Misphragmuthosis, Amenophis, Ramesses, and Sesostris, are once more restored to the page of authentic history, and to their place in the succession of Egyptian sovereigns.

Nothing, perhaps, connected with this interesting subject, is more surprising than that the priests of Heliopolis and Memphis should have continued to use imitative and symbolic hieroglyphs so long after they had become acquainted with the more convenient apparatus of alphabetical writing. But this fact, which might otherwise appear incredible, finds a counterpart in the practice of the Chinese, who, as we have already mentioned, retain even at the present day a modified species of hieroglyphics,—a literary notation that denotes things or ideas, instead of expressing sounds,—and which they likewise can render phonetic at pleasure. When, for example, they have occasion to indicate any foreign combination of vocal sounds, such as the name of a European object or person, they attach a certain mark to their words, and thereby convert them into letters; the *initial consonant* of the several terms supplying the successive alphabetical articulations necessary to form the noun in question. At this stage all the difficulty of the invention is conquered. The moment that men have learned to denote, by a visible sign, a sound as well as a sensation or an event, they have acquired possession of an alphabet; and then nothing more is requisite except to abbreviate the figures so as to make them convenient for the rapid uses of ordinary life,—to dismiss the picture, in short, and substitute an arbitrary mark, according to the practice of European nations. But the ancient Egyptians, like the modern Chinese, thought proper to rest satisfied with one-half of the advantages which their ingenuity had earned; continuing, for ages after they had acquired the knowledge of phonetic characters, to intersperse them with the imitative and symbolical figures which in every other country those others have completely superseded.

Leaving it to the historian of this remarkable discovery to detail the incidents which accompanied the investiga-

Singular adherence to hieroglyphics.

Corresponding practice of the Chinese.

Imperfect development of writing.

CHAP. V.

Established results.

Examples.

Number of phonetic characters.

Principle of selection.

tions of Dr Young, Silvestre de Sacy, Akerblad, Salt, and Champollion, we confine ourselves to the statement of the important fact that, from a copious induction of instances, extending in some cases to several hundreds for a single character, the last of these authors arrived at the conclusion that every *phonetic hieroglyph* is the image of some physical object whose name, in the spoken language of ancient Egypt, begins with the sound or letter which the sculptured figure was destined to represent. Thus the image of an eagle, which in the Coptic is *Ahôm*, became the sign of the vowel A ; that of a small vase, called *Berbe* in Egyptian, stood for the consonant B ; that of a hand, *Tot*, represented the letter T ; that of a hatchet, *Kelebin*, was the sign of the consonant K ; that of a lion or lioness, *Labo*, the sign of the consonant L ; that of a nycticorax, *Mouladj*, the sign of M ; that of a flute, *Sebiandjo*, the sign of the consonant S ; that of a mouth, *Rô*, the sign of the consonant R ; and the abridged image of a garden, *Shené*, the sign of the compound articulation Sh.

It is obvious from the statement now made, that, as there are a great many objects the names of which begin with the same letter, an author using phonetic hieroglyphs must have had a wide field in which to select his characters. Some of the letters were in fact represented by fifteen and even by twenty-five different figures. M. Champollion held the opinion that, in writing the articulated sounds of a word, the Egyptians chose, among the great number of characters which they were at liberty to employ, those figures which by their qualities represented such ideas as had ■ relation to the object which they meant to express. For example, in designating the name of Noub, one of their deities, they selected, to express the letter B, the figure of a ram in preference to any other sign, because the ram was by itself a symbol of this deity ; so much so indeed, that we often find him represented under the figure of a man, with the head of that animal. For the same reason, to express the letter N, they chose from among the several

characters employed for the purpose the sign of a vase, because it was usual to represent this god with one of these vessels lying at his feet. Again, the lion, which in Coptic was called Labo, stood for the letter L; and though this sound was represented by several other signs, the Egyptians, in writing the name of Ptolemy, and afterwards of the Roman emperors, uniformly employed the figure of that noble animal, to denote, no doubt, the corresponding qualities in their powerful and magnanimous sovereigns.

An author was thus enabled to combine with a name the character of the individual to whom it applied,—possessing through this medium an instrument of the most delicate flattery. Perhaps it may have been solely for such reasons that hieroglyphs continued to be used for inscriptions and legends, in preference to the bare notation of alphabetical signs, long after the superior convenience belonging to the latter, for merely literary purposes, must have been universally appreciated.

We may observe, too, that in writing hieroglyphically the figures may be placed in four different ways, and are often found so arranged on the same monument. They are either in perpendicular lines, and may be read from right to left or from left to right; or they are in a horizontal direction, following the same variety as to the mode of reading. Two rules, however, have been given to determine which way any inscription or papyrus is to be deciphered. The first is, that in hieroglyphical manuscripts the characters are for the most part placed in perpendicular lines; while in sculptures and paintings, especially when they refer to persons, the signs are marshalled horizontally. The second rule, equally general and equally useful, is, that every inscription, manuscript, or legend of any kind whatever, is to be read from the side towards which are turned the heads of the animals or the angular edges of the characters. Thus a line of hieroglyphs is like a regular procession, in which all the images of the several objects follow the march of the initial sign; and it was probably to point out this direc-

CHAP. V.
Illustrations.

Advantages of the system.

Different modes of arrangement.

Order of words.

CHAP. V.
Egyptian
and Chinese
literature.

tion that all the figures of men and of the lower animals, whether birds, reptiles, insects, or quadrupeds, have been designed in profile.

After what has been narrated, it is scarcely necessary to observe that the learning of an Egyptian, like the similar acquirements of a modern Chinese, would be measured by the number of ideographic signs which he was able to interpret. This remark, it is true, applies almost exclusively to the figurative and symbolic classes which, instead of sounds, denoted things or qualities. But as there were scarcely any pieces of composition executed entirely in phonetic characters, and without a considerable intermixture of the two others, the means of acquiring knowledge among the subjects of the Pharaohs must have been extremely limited. Perhaps, at a more advanced period of hieroglyphical discovery, we shall find that many of the signs, which are at present esteemed symbolical, were also used alphabetically,—an expectation which has unquestionably been rendered more probable by certain investigations recently made among the ancient monuments of Egypt.

Champollion arrived at the following important conclusions, founded on personal research, and in some degree corresponding to the results published by other travellers :—

1. That the phonetic alphabet can be applied with success to the legends of every epoch indiscriminately, and is the true key of the whole hieroglyphical system.
2. That the ancient Egyptians constantly employed this alphabet to represent the sound of the words in their language.
3. That all hieroglyphical inscriptions are composed of signs, which, for the greatest part, are purely alphabetical.
4. That these alphabetical signs are of three different kinds,—the demotic or common, the hieratic or sacred, and the hieroglyphic properly so called.

And, *lastly*, that the principles of this graphic system are precisely those which were in use among the ancient

Champollion's re-
searches.

Egyptians. The hieroglyphical alphabet which he discovered includes nearly nine hundred characters, some of which are exclusively phonetic, but the greater number appear also to combine the properties of the figurative and the symbolical orders.

We cannot leave this interesting subject without mentioning a discovery made by Mr Salt, which proves that phonetic characters were in use as early as the reign of Psammeticus,—an inference, indeed, which has been since extended to a much remoter period of Egyptian history. It had been suggested, that as these characters were applied to the names of foreign monarchs—the Ptolemies and Roman emperors—so in all probability, if known at the time, they would likewise have been made use of in expressing the names of the Ethiopian sovereigns who had previously held the country in subjection. The result has proved the soundness of this conjecture. From some sketches made at Abydos, he was fortunate enough to decipher the name of ΣΑΒΑΚΟ or ΣΑΒΑΚΟΦΘ, with the same termination which was afterwards found in ΑΜΕΝΟΦΘ ; and in an inscription, taken from the back of a small portico at Medinet Abou, he discovered the name of TIPAKA, who he imagines can be no other than “Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who came out to make war against Sennacherib, king of Assyria.”*

If this supposed identity be admitted, it will prove that the phonetic characters were in use more than seven hundred years before Christ, and it would also establish the reign of a sovereign named in the Bible, of whose existence some learned men have been inclined to doubt. Nor did Mr Salt's discoveries stop here. Upon the high granitic rocks of Elephantiné, and also on a large column in front of the great Temple of Karnac, he made out, with the utmost ease, from beneath the obtrusive name of a Ptolemy, the appellation of ΠΣΑΜΙΤΙΚ written phonetically. This name is also sculptured on one of

CHAP. V.
Hieroglyphic
alphabet.

Discovery of
Mr. Salt.

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—
Remote era
established.

the smaller temples at Eleithias, and on the Campesian obelisk, as well as on that in Monte Citorio. But we have already remarked that the use of phonetic symbols can be satisfactorily traced back as far as the reign of Misphragmuthosis,—fifteen centuries at least before the Christian era.*

* We refer, once for all, to the following treatises as the sources of our information on Hieroglyphics:—The article “Egypt,” in Supplement to Ency. Brit. An Account of some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature and Egyptian Antiquities, &c. by Thomas Young, M.D., F.R.S. Lettre à M. Dacier, relative à l’Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes Phonétiques, &c. par M. Champollion le Jeune. Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens, &c. par le même Auteur. Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas d’Aulps, &c. relatives au Musée Royal Egyptien de Turin. Essay on Dr Young’s and M. Champollion’s Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics, &c. by Henry Salt, Esq. Article Hieroglyphics, in Edin. Review, vol. xlv. p. 96. Lectures on the Elements of Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Antiquities, by the Marquis Spineto. Wilkinson’s Materia Hieroglyphica. Analyse Grammaticale Raisonnée de differens Textes Anciens Egyptiens. Par François Salvolini. Volume Premier. La Grammaire Egyptienne, par M. Champollion. This last is a posthumous publication, and contains the result of the author’s previous labours.

The last work which has fallen under our observation is that of Salvolini, the *Grammatical Analysis of the different ancient Egyptian Texts*; or, in other words, an exposition of hieroglyphical inscriptions. His plan is so very comprehensive as to extend to three volumes quarto, the first of which is devoted to the several texts on the Rosetta stone. The second, he informs his readers (for only part of the first volume has yet appeared), will embrace inscriptions of a funereal or religious character; those of a strictly historical nature will be considered in the third. It is his resolution, however, not to confine his observations to the wearisome details of grammatical analysis, but also, from the various inscriptions, to throw light both upon the leading doctrines of Egyptian philosophy, and on some of the more interesting events recorded in the national annals. His own words are:—“Mon intention était d’offrir aux savans une espèce de bibliothèque égyptienne, en même tems qu’un véritable *commentaire sur la langue et les écritures hiéroglyphiques*. —Les principes adoptés pour la méthode que j’allais suivre dans mes interprétations étaient les mêmes dont feu Champollion avait publié la découverte bien des années auparavant. Ces principes, je le savais, n’avaient pas cessé d’être un sujet de contestations de la part des savans de l’Europe; des opinions défavorables avaient couru relativement à la réalité et à l’étendu des découvertes de mon illustre maître. Je ne me dissimulais par l’importance qu’il y aurait eu à justifier complètement et une fois pour toutes ses principes; je

Some readers, it is presumed, will value this discovery more because it seems to withdraw the veil that had long concealed the origin of alphabetical writing, than for any light which it may prove the means of throwing upon the literature of the ancient Egyptians. In truth, when we call to mind that the scheme of interpretation is limited almost exclusively to proper names, we shall not indulge a too sanguine hope as to the result of its applications to narrative or description. But there can be no doubt that the Greeks were accustomed to attribute to the priests of the Nile the merit of having first introduced the knowledge of letters as the representatives of vocal sounds. Plato, for example, relates that, during the reign of King Thamus, his secretary Thoth came to lay before him the discoveries he had made, amongst which was the invention of the alphabet; and he consulted the king whether it might be expedient to make it public. His majesty, who saw the full value of the disclosure, was particularly opposed to the plan of recommending it to general use, and, like a true politician, concealed the real cause, while he assigned one more remote and secondary, why he wished that it should be kept secret. He therefore told his ingenious minister, that if the new mode of writing should be divulged the people would no longer pay any attention to hieroglyphics; and as these would consequently be soon forgotten.

Popular estimate of this discovery.

Greek ideas.

Assumed secrecy.

sentis qu'il fallait pour cela reprendre, pour ainsi dire, en sous-œuvre, son système d'interprétation. Les deux volumes *d'Analyse Grammaticale* dont j'ai déjà parlé, pour l'interprétation de quelques parties du rituel funéraire et des diverses inscriptions qui nous restent sur les monumens sculptés, auraient pu suffire pour atteindre un pareil but. Cependant, l'existence en Europe de la célèbre pierre de Rosette, véritable pierre de touche pour la question que je me proposais de résoudre, me déterminé à commencer mon travail par l'interprétation des deux textes égyptiens qu'elle renferme. C'est ainsi que cet ouvrage fut porté à *trois volumes*, dont le premier, celui que je publie aujourd'hui, renfermera les premiers essais de l'application du système d'interprétation de feu Champollion aux textes *hieroglyphique* et *demotique* de la pierre de Rosette.

In the portion of his work here mentioned, Salvolini, I regret to say, throws no new light either on the alphabet or grammar of the mystical language used by the priests of ancient Egypt.

CHAP. V.

Legitimate
inferences

gotten, the invention would, in its effects, prove one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of knowledge.

Whatever may be the precise meaning of the passage now quoted, it seems reasonable to infer from it that, in the days of Plato, the Greeks ascribed to the philosophers of Egypt the honour of having devised a system of phonetic signs, which finally superseded the cumbrous expedient of writing by pictures. It may likewise be concluded, although on grounds somewhat different, that hieroglyphics were not invented, after the use of letters had become known, with the view of concealing certain mysteries from the multitude, but that they were in fact the original mode of communication employed by all nations in the rude beginnings of society. To suppose that they were introduced for the sake of enhancing the paltry knowledge possessed by the priests, or for confining the lights of science to the privileged orders of the state, is an hypothesis contradicted by the most authentic historical records; while to assert that the Egyptians had letters before they had hieroglyphs, is not less absurd, it has been said, than to affirm that they danced before they could walk. On this question the only difficulty we have to encounter, is to explain why they continued so long, in their public monuments and more solemn transactions, to use the ancient method after they had become acquainted with a scheme of notation so much better suited to all the purposes of literature. Perhaps certain notions of sanctity, similar to those entertained by the Jews with regard to the name of the Supreme Being, may have prevented the priests of Pharaoh from revealing the attributes of their gods in the vulgar idiom of the country.

Extent of
modern
knowledge.

In reference to the knowledge actually acquired of the literature of ancient Egypt, by means of the late discoveries in hieroglyphics, we are not entitled to speak in boastful or very confident language. The wasting hand of time, which has rendered its effects visible even on the pyramids, has entirely destroyed the more perishable materials to which the sages of Thebes and the

True char-
acter of hie-
roglyphicsFolly of
other theo-
ries.

magicians of Memphis may have committed the science CHAP. V. of their several generations. We know, too, that the bigotry of ignorance and of superstition accomplished, in many cases, what the flood of years had permitted to escape ; for which reason we must not estimate the extent of acquirement among the wise men of Egypt by the scanty remains of their labours which have been casually rescued from accident and violence. From Diodorus Siculus we receive the information, that in the tomb of Osymandias were deposited twenty thousand volumes,—a number which is reduced by Manetho to three thousand five hundred and twenty-five,—all of which, on account of their antiquity or the importance of their subjects, were ascribed to Thoth or Hermes, who, it is well known, united in his character the intelligence of a divinity with the patriotism of a faithful minister.

Of these works, which unquestionably belong to a very remote antiquity, we have a short account supplied by a Christian bishop, Clemens of Alexandria, who appears to have devoted much attention to the learning of the ancient Egyptians. "In that country," he tells us, "every individual cultivates a different branch of philosophy,—an arrangement which applies chiefly to their holy ceremonies. In such processions the Singer occupies the first place, carrying in his hand an instrument of music. He is said to be obliged to learn two of the Procession. books of Hermes ; one of which contains hymns addressed to the gods, and the other the rules by which a prince ought to govern. Next comes the Horoscopus, holding a clock and the branch of a palm-tree, which are the symbols of astrology. He must be completely master of the four books of Hermes which treat of that science. One of these explains the order of the fixed stars ; the second, the motion and phases of the sun and moon ; the other two determine the times of their periodical rising. Then follows the Hierogrammatist, or The hierogrammatist sacred scribe, with two feathers on his head, and a book and ruler in his hand, to which are added the instruments of writing—some ink and a reed. He must know

Destruction
of Egyptian
records.

Egyptian
manuscripts.

Clemens of
Alexandria

Procession.

The hiero-
grammatist

CHAP. V.
His acquire-
ments.

what are called hieroglyphics, and those branches of science which belong to cosmography, geography, and astronomy, especially the laws of the sun, moon, and five planets; he must be acquainted with the territorial distribution of Egypt, the course of the Nile, the furniture of the temples and of all consecrated places. After these is an officer denominated Stolistes, who bears a square-rule as the emblem of justice, and the cup for libations. His charge includes every thing which belongs to the education of youth, as well as to sacrifices, first-fruits, the selecting of cattle for worship, hymns, prayers, religious pomps, festivals, and commemorations; the rules for which are contained in ten books. This functionary is succeeded by one called the Prophet, who displays in his bosom a jar or vessel, meant for carrying water,—a symbol thought to represent the deity, but which, more probably, had a reference to the sacred character of the Nile. He is attended by persons bearing bread cut into slices. The duty of the prophet made it necessary for him to be perfectly acquainted with the ten books called sacerdotal, and which treat of the laws of the gods, and of the whole discipline of the priesthood. He also presides over the distribution of the sacred revenue; that is, the income arising from the performance of pious rites, and dedicated to the support of religious institutions. Hence there are forty-two books of Hermes, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary; of these, thirty-six, containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians, are carefully studied by the persons whom we have mentioned; and the remaining six are learned by the Pastophori, or inferior priests, as they belong to anatomy, to nosology, to instruments of surgery, to pharmacy, to the diseases of the eye, and to the maladies of women.”*

This distribution of the sciences does not enable us to determine either the principles on which they were founded or the extent to which they were pursued. We

The prophet.

Books of
Hermes.

Uncertainty
of this ex-
planation.

* Clemen. Alexandrin. Strom. lib. vi. p. 633.

possess a better criterion in the perfection to which the people of Egypt, at a very early period, had carried some of those arts which have a close dependence upon scientific deductions. The prodigies of Thebes could not have been accomplished by a nation ignorant of mathematics and chemistry ; nor could the pyramids, the obelisks, and the monolithic temples, which still meet the eye of the traveller in almost every spot between Elephantine and the mouths of the Nile, have been raised without the aid of such mechanical powers as have their origin in the calculations of philosophy.

It seems possible that, in the lapse of ages, a country shall lose the science upon which the arts must have been founded, while the arts themselves shall remain as an hereditary bequest from father to son. The Chinese are in such a condition at present ; and so perhaps were the Egyptians immediately before the Macedonian conquest. But as the practical excellence of several of the arts in China satisfies us that the light of scientific knowledge must at one time have shone in that vast empire, so might we be convinced, on the same grounds, that the artisans of Egypt were instructed by men who had made great progress in the various branches of natural philosophy. We are in fact informed by Manetho, that one of the Pharaohs, the grandfather of Psammeticus, and the sage Petosiris his contemporary, wrote valuable treatises on astronomy, astrology, and medicine. The last of these works is mentioned even by Galenus and Aëtius, while that on astronomy is alluded to both by Eusebius and Pliny ; though it is not improbable that they were altered by the sophists of Alexandria, who began to flourish under the reigns of the Ptolemies. It is asserted that the royal author and his philosophical colleague undertook to explain the creation of the world, as well as the influences exerted upon the human frame by the heavenly bodies ; but, when we reflect upon the channel through which this account has reached us, we must not draw hasty conclusions with regard to the physics of the ancient Egyptian school.

Necessary acquirements.

Probable deterioration.

Comparison with China.

Scientific works.

CHAP. V.

Tatian's account.

Formation of regular books.

Information of Herodotus.

Sources of Greek knowledge.

Tatian relates that the Greeks learned how to write history from perusing the Egyptian annals. This assertion appears to be well founded ; it being manifest that, from the most remote antiquity, the latter people had adopted the custom of transmitting to posterity the memory of past events. Originally they seem to have written their chronicles in verse, and inscribed them on stones in hieroglyphical characters ; but, at a certain time after the invention of the alphabet, they adopted prose and began to form regular books, though they still retained the custom of celebrating, in lyric measure, the praises of their gods and heroes. It seems, indeed, according to the account of the industrious and learned Zoega, who has collected all the authorities of ancient writers on this subject, that historical treatises were very numerous in Egypt, and that the care of copying them constituted one of the principal duties which devolved upon the sacred scribes. Herodotus himself informs us, that he acquired all his knowledge of their country from the priests, who read to him from a book the names of three hundred and thirty kings who had reigned between Menes and Sesostris. Theophrastus, too, who may be regarded as writing from personal knowledge, concurs in the views just stated. Manetho, again, assures his readers that he compiled his work from authentic records. Diodorus, a writer of the highest credit, refers not only to histories in the Egyptian language, but to commentaries and illustrations,—a fact confirmed by Josephus and Strabo, the latter of whom even praises the simplicity of their style. It was from these sources that the Greek authors, Eratosthenes, Agatharchides, Artemidorus, Syncellus, Apollonides, and Asclepiades, compiled their histories of Egypt. Besides, we ought not to forget that the Grecian writers who visited the land of the Pharaohs found it already in a state of decay both as to knowledge and power. The priests had lost much of the learning for which their ancestors were celebrated, and no longer enjoyed the privileges which dignified their order prior to the invasion of Cambyses. A library

at Thebes, so early as the reign of Osymandias, proves CHAP. V.
that before the Trojan war a taste for reading had spread
over a large portion of Egyptian society. There was a
similar establishment at Memphis, in the temple of the
god Phtha, from which Naucrates, a wretched scribbler,
accuses Homer of having stolen the Iliad and Odyssey, and
afterwards published them as his own. Such a charge
evidently refutes itself; but it nevertheless tends to con-
firm the conclusion drawn from it by ancient writers,
with regard to the early civilisation and literary habits of
the Egyptians. The patronage bestowed by the first of
the Ptolemies was, therefore, in strict accordance with
the pursuits of the people whom the fortune of war had
appointed him to govern. The splendid collection of
books at Alexandria was formed by those politic sove-
reigns his successors, as one of the means whereby they
might procure popularity,—a motive which reflects no
less honour on the character of their subjects than on
their own penetration and beneficence.

Nor is it undeserving of notice that, in the most bril-
liant period of Alexandrian literature, a large share of
attention was bestowed upon the antiquities of Egypt. Early
Nearly three centuries before our era, the works of
authors, then esteemed ancient, were sought with eager-
ness, and made the subject of laborious commentary.
Heyne, in a very ingenious treatise on the sources
whence Diodorus probably derived the materials of his
history, has mentioned a long list of writers, who pre-
ceded the Sicilian, as compilers on the affairs of that in-
teresting kingdom.* In this way we see the erudition
of a primitive nation reflected from the works of writers
in a comparatively recent age; on which account we
think it not too bold to maintain that most of the sci-
entific and literary acquirements which distinguished the
Greeks, while the rest of Europe was in a state of bar-
barism, were derived from their intercourse with the
scholars of Thebes and Memphis. In fact, at one time
no Greek was accounted truly learned until he had

Libraries at
Thebes and
Memphis.

Patronage by
Ptolemy.

Early
attention
to Egyptian
antiquities.

Source
of modern
science.

* *De Fontibus Historiarum Diodori.*

CHAP. V. sojourned ■ certain period on the banks of the Nile ; Early Greek conversed with the philosophers on the mysteries of travellers. their science ; studied the laws, the government, and the institutions of the most remarkable people that ever existed ; examined and explored their everlasting monuments ; and become in some measure initiated in the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Arithmetical notation. Connected with the subject of this chapter, and not a little important in itself, is an inquiry, which has lately engaged a good deal of attention, into the Egyptian method of arithmetical notation. The principal writers who have favoured the world with their opinions on this interesting monument of antiquity are, M. Jomard, whose name has been already mentioned as the author of an essay on the pyramids, Dr Young, M. Champollion, and Dr Kosegarten, who, about seven years ago, published a treatise on the literature of ancient Egypt.*

Peculiar nature of the system. This system, we are told, is neither literal, like the Grecian and Roman, nor altogether figurate, after the manner of the Arabic, but something intermediate between them. It is constructed upon principles altogether peculiar, and expressed by means of certain characters or signs, which, although perfectly distinct from those employed in the graphic system, are nevertheless framed upon a strict analogy to them, and adapted with much nicety to the particular form of composition in which they happen to be used. As there were three forms of Three forms. writing among the ancient Egyptians,—the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the enhorial or demotic,—so, in like manner, there were three forms of notation used by them ; one adapted to each of these particular kinds of composition, and now known by the name of the variety to which it belongs. But as the hieroglyphic or monumental writing is the basis of the two other classes, so, in the system of numerical expression, the hieratic is a

* De Prisca Ægyptiorum Litteratura Commentatio Prime ; quam scripsit Joannes Godofredus Kosegarten, S. S. Theol. Doct., ejusdemque et Lit. Orient. in Academia Gryphisvaldensi Prof. Vimariae, 1828.

modified form of the hieroglyphic, and the demotic of the hieratic. In the two last, however, there is this peculiarity, that separate modes of notation are employed to designate the days of the month, and that, in both these modes, several of the numerals which we now denominate Arabic are distinctly recognised. This very remarkable fact has been so strikingly exemplified by such writers as have examined the Egyptian notation in detail, as to leave no doubt whence our modern symbols originated. It does not indeed appear very clearly which of the three forms was used, in preference to the others, in scientific computations. But, judging from analogy, it is probable that the demotic notation, like the demotic writing, was employed in the common transactions of life ; while, with respect to scientific calculations, all that can be gathered from such monuments as the zodiacs of Dendera and Esneh amounts to nothing more than the fact that the numerical expressions are uniformly accommodated to the particular kind of writing in which they occur.

By the labours of several distinguished antiquaries who have applied themselves to the study of Egyptian literature, the hieroglyphic signs of numbers, from one to a thousand, have been ascertained beyond the possibility of doubt or error : and as these constitute the simplest of the three forms of notation in use among the ancient Egyptians, we shall endeavour to represent them in such a manner as to render the principle of their arrangement as intelligible as our means will admit.

The nine digits are not formed upon the Arabic scheme of having a separate mark for each, but simply by repeating the sign of unity as often as there are units in any digit from one to nine. Thus the former is represented by a short thick stroke | ; *two* by a couple of such strokes || ; *three* by ||| ; and so on to ten : the higher digits, however, *seven*, *eight*, and *nine*, being represented frequently by strokes arranged in double columns, obviously for the purpose of saving space. The mark or sign for *ten* is ፩ ; and all the intermediate numbers between ten and twenty are made up by units af-

CHAP. V.
Days of the
month.

Source
of Arabic
numerals.

Discoveries
satisfactorily
established.

Primitive
numerals.

CHAP. V.

Combinations of numerals.

fixed to the symbol for ten ; thus \textcircled{I} is eleven, \textcircled{II} is twelve, \textcircled{III} is thirteen, and so on. Twenty is expressed by two tens \textcircled{II} ; and the intermediate numbers between twenty and thirty, in the same way precisely as those between ten and twenty. Thirty is represented by three tens \textcircled{III} ; forty by four tens \textcircled{IV} ; and so on to a hundred ; the tens in sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety, being, like the higher digits, generally arranged in double columns. From a hundred, the mark or sign for which is $\textcircled{9}$, to a thousand, the numbers ascend exactly upon the principle already explained in regard to the preceding part of the scale. Thus 200 is represented $\textcircled{99}$; 300 $\textcircled{999}$; and so on to a thousand, the symbol of which is $\textcircled{\text{P}}$

Adaption to monumental inscriptions.

Such is the hieroglyphical form of notation ascertained by a vast number of readings and comparisons ; and from what has been already stated, as well as from the nature of the signs themselves, and the principle upon which they are combined, it seems pretty evident that they could never have been employed except in monumental inscriptions, for which alone they are adapted. To say nothing of other objections, the method is by far too operose for ordinary purposes, and never could have been applied with any degree of success, either to civil affairs or to scientific computations.

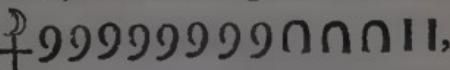
Comparison of Egyptian and Arabic signs.

That the signs or figures of elementary numbers employed by the ancient Egyptians are nearly identical in form with the Arabic digits, must be obvious on the slightest inspection ; and there is every reason to believe that the latter were in the first instance copied from the former. But there is one marked and very important distinction between these two sets of numerical signs, which has not hitherto been pointed out with sufficient precision ; namely, that the Arabic have a *value in position*, the Egyptian none whatever ; and to this is exclusively owing the superiority possessed by the more mo-

dern over the more ancient, and indeed over every other system of notation. A very simple example will illustrate this. To denote, for instance, the year 1832 according to the Egyptian method, it would require no fewer

CHAP. V.

Source of the
superiority
of modern
systems.

than fourteen figures 

whereas, by means of the Arabic notation, it is expressed by four, because every one of the three signs which precede unity has each a value in position, as tens, hundreds, thousands. In the scheme devised by the philosophers of Memphis, the value of every figure is absolute, and expresses the same number whether it stand at the beginning or end of a series. At the same time, it will

Evidence of
antiquity.

not be denied that the higher antiquity of this mode of numeration is manifest from the very simplicity of the principle upon which the scale is constructed, no less than from the age of the monuments on which the inscriptions have been discovered.

The hieratic form, which is the most complete of all, Hieratic form. possesses some very remarkable peculiarities ; but as it passes naturally into the demotic or enchorial, and has a much closer affinity to that than to the hieroglyphic, we shall confine our account of it to a mere exposition of the principle on which the scheme is made to rest. The digits, omitting the variations, which are of little importance, are represented thus :—

1.....		6.....	
2.....		7.....	
3.....		8.....	
4.....		9.....	
5.....			

Ten is represented by the Greek lambda direct or reversed  or . The sign of a hundred is , of two hundred , of three hundred , of four hundred ; while 500, 600, 700, 800, 900, are represent-

Higher signs.

CHAP. V.

Combinations.Days of the month.Decades.

ed respectively by combining the signs of 200 and 300 ; or 300 and 300 ; of 300 and 400 ; of 400 and 400 ; and 300 thrice repeated. The mark for 1000 is the sanpi of the Greeks 5 : the symbol of 10,000 is 2 ; while 100,000 is represented by the sign of a hundred combined with that of 1000.

So much for the common numbers of the hieratic scale. But there is also for the days of the month a peculiar and distinct set of numerical signs, which are not a little interesting, as exhibiting the source whence the Arabians derived three or four of the figures afterwards introduced by that people into the western world ; thus conferring upon Europe one of the greatest benefits it ever received, at the hand either of conqueror or of sage, the art of printing alone excepted. These numbers resolve themselves into three decades, the first of which is as follows :—

1.....	1	6.....	33
2.....	2	7.....	37
3.....	3	8.....	77
4.....	7	9.....	2
5.....	23	10.....	✓

Higher decades.

The numbers composing the second decade, or from ten to twenty, are represented by combining the symbol of 10 with the digits in succession, thus \checkmark_1 11; \checkmark_1^2 12; \checkmark_1^3 13; and so on to twenty, the mark or sign of which is \checkmark_1 . Lastly, from twenty to thirty the numbers are represented in the same way precisely as from ten to twenty, \checkmark_1^1 , 21; \checkmark_1^2 , 22; \checkmark_1^3 , 23. So much, then, for the hieratic notation in both its parts, which is evidently in many respects a great improvement upon

the hieroglyphic, the source whence it was primarily derived. CHAP. V.

The demotic form of notation is not so perfectly understood as the method just described ; there being a blank from 13 to 20, and from 60 to 100, the intervening numbers not having been yet determined by actual discovery. The signs or marks bear a great resemblance to those of the hieroglyphic class, of which they are obviously a copy :—

1.....		8.....	2
2.....	��	9.....	2
3.....	Ϣ	10.....	λ
4.....	Ϣ	20.....	>
5.....	՚	30.....	3
6.....	≡	40.....	<
7.....	՞	50.....	{

The history of the various steps by which Champollion and others arrived at the knowledge of the numerical system of the Egyptians is extremely interesting, and affords an instance, almost as striking as that of phonetic hieroglyphics, of the triumph of genius combined with perseverance, over difficulties which appeared entirely insuperable. Accident, it is true, contributed in both cases to diffuse a light over the subject, which could not have been struck out by dint of unaided sagacity. The Rosetta stone enabled our antiquaries to accomplish what the learning of Clemens and the ingenuity of Warburton had failed to make known ; and, in the latter inquiry, the appearance of a neglected papyrus, containing the translation of an ancient deed, supplied the means of determining the value of a long list of numerical signs.

There can be little doubt that it was to Egypt the Saracens were indebted for the scheme of arithmetical notation which they subsequently communicated to the scholars of Europe. Thus it is rendered more than pro-

Discovery of their numerical system.

Rosetta Stone.

Source of sara-
cenic nota-
tion.

CHAP. V.
Probable
source of
other inven-
tions.

Obligations
of the Greeks
to Egypt.

Egyptian
theology.

bable that to the same people we owe two of the most important inventions which could be employed in the service of learning,—an alphabet, and a regular scale of numbers suited to the profoundest investigations of science. Justly, indeed, has it been remarked, as a most striking fact in the history of the human mind, that the only two discoveries which no one has ever claimed as his own, are precisely those which succeeding ages have found it impossible to extend or improve, and which, at the period of their first introduction, were as complete and as universal in their application as they are at the present moment. It is hardly less surprising that the Greeks, who were indebted to the Egyptians for the elements of almost all those sciences which they afterwards so much advanced, should have failed to discern the manifold conveniences attached to their numerical system. Some centuries, however, had passed away before they were induced to adopt it from a people comparatively barbarous, but who, like themselves, had profited by their vicinity to that fountain of knowledge which so long beautified and enriched the country of the Pharaohs.*

A review of the literature of this ancient nation might seem to require that we should give an account of the theological opinions entertained by the priests, as well as of the doctrines received by the multitude, relative to the nature of the human soul, and a future state of reward and punishment. But it must be apparent that the object of our undertaking precludes all such discussion, as being at once too abstruse and too extensive in its ramifications. It may therefore be sufficient to observe, that the popular religion of Egypt, like that of all pagan tribes, was directed towards those qualities in

* To the authorities mentioned in the text we feel satisfaction in adding an article, in a recent number of the *Westminster Review*, on the “Egyptian Method of Notation,” to which we acknowledge ourselves under great obligations. See also “Remarques sur les Signes Numériques des Anciens Egyptiens. Par E. Jomard. Description de l’Egypte, vol. ii. p. 57. Antiquités.”

the physical system of the universe upon which the permanence of the animal kingdom is known to depend. CHAP. V.
The generative and prolific powers, under their various forms, and as affecting every description of organized matter, were worshipped as the Universal Parent, whose names were multiplied according to the changing aspect of nature, and whose attributes, when personified, gave birth to a thousand subordinate divinities. Its character.

The oldest form of idolatry was without doubt the worship of the host of heaven, called *Sabaism*, from the Hebrew term which denotes a multitude. It has been suggested, accordingly, that the animal worship of India and Egypt, particularly of the latter country, was originally nothing more than a reflected Sabaism ; in other words, that it was purely symbolical. From the earliest times the stars were classed in groups, which men imagined to bear a resemblance to the figures of certain living creatures ; these groups received their names from those of the animals to whose form they were supposed to bear a likeness ; and hence astronomy continues to retain the descriptive nomenclature which was originally founded on this fanciful analogy. The next step was to transfer to the beasts and creeping things, which were thus associated with the host of heaven, some portion of the homage which was due to the latter ; whence, it has been thought, we may trace the absurd practice of animal adoration, so characteristic of the Egyptians. Though at last it degenerated among the vulgar into a brutish idolatry, it was in its first stage purely symbolical, a reflection of the direct homage paid to the celestial host immediately after the flood. As a proof of this, it has been mentioned by certain writers, that the lion, though not a native of Egypt, had a place among the animals which received divine honours, evidently because the first Sabaists had identified the leonine form with an astronomical sign.

The tenet of the metempsychosis appears to have regulated the faith of the people so far as it applied to the effect of their conduct on their future condition. The Metempsy-
chosis.

CHAP. V.
Retribution.

soul was understood to expiate the sins committed in the human body, or to enjoy the rewards due to pureness of living, in a succession of transmigrations during three thousand years; at the end of which it was expected to resume its former tenement, and to discharge once more the functions of an earthly existence.

Popular literature.

Again, as to the poetry, the eloquence, and the polite literature of that remarkable people, we are still too ignorant of the Coptic to form an accurate judgment. But there is reason to hope that the example presented by M. Quatremère to the scholars of Europe will not be neglected,—that the ancient language of the Egyptians will at length receive a degree of attention equal to its importance,—and, consequently, that the productions of the poets and orators of Thebes, the passionate effusions of the lover and the patriot, may yet be added to the stores of English learning.

Arts.

In respect to the arts of the ancient Egyptians, we shall have ■ better opportunity of introducing a few observations in the following chapter, where we intend to bring before the reader a view of some of the more striking remains of their taste and skill, as collected from the descriptions of recent travellers.

CHAPTER VI.

Remains of Ancient Art in various Parts of Egypt.

General Magnificence of Remains—Alexandria—Pillar—Cleopatra's Needle—Catacombs—Memphis—Beni Hassan—Hermopolis Magna—Antinopolis—Siout—Sepulchral Grottos—Temple of Antæopolis—Abydos—Dendera or Tentyra—Magnificent Temple and Portico—Elegant Sculptures—Zodiac and Planisphere—Opinions as to their Antiquity—Thebes—The Gateway or Propylon at Luxor—Magnificent Sculptures—Karnac—The Temple; Its Approaches and splendid Gateways; Its vast Extent—Temples at Dair and Medinet Abou—The Memnonium—Statue of Memnon—Tombs—Herment—Esneh—Eleithias—Striking Representations of Domestic Life—Edfou—Hadjur Silsili—Koum Ombos—Es Souan—Quarries of Syené—Island of Elephantiné—Concluding Remarks.

WE have purposely made a distinction between those immense works which display the gigantic plans and mechanical resources of the ancient Egyptians, and the specimens of the finer arts of architecture, statuary, and painting, which still delight the eye of the scientific traveller amid the ruins of Thebes, Dendera, and Ebsamboul. No view of Egypt would be complete without such an outline as we now propose to exhibit; for it is not possible in any other way to connect the history of that remarkable country with its proud monuments of ancient taste and grandeur, or to render credible the sublime descriptions which have been transmitted to us by philosophers as well as by poets. The remains which still indicate the site of its oldest capital present the most unequivocal proof of its early civilisation, and of

CHAP. VI.

Classification
of works of
art.

CHAP. VI.

Evidence of
early civiliza-
tion.

Memphis.

Champol-
lions impres-
sions at Kar-
nac.

Alexandria.

Pompey's
Pillar.

the high degree of power which the inhabitants had attained by means of their knowledge. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of time, being coeval perhaps with the people who first took possession of the country ; but, to give an idea of its great antiquity, it may be sufficient to remark that the building of Memphis, the date of which even stretches beyond the limits of authentic history, was the first attempt made to rival its magnificence and prosperity. Alluding to one portion of the more ancient metropolis, Champollion expresses himself in the following terms :—“ All that I had seen, all that I had admired on the left bank, appeared miserable in comparison with the gigantic conceptions by which I was surrounded. I shall take care not to attempt to describe any thing ; for, either my description would not express the thousandth part of what ought to be said, or, if I drew even a faint sketch, I should be taken for an enthusiast or perhaps for a madman. It will suffice to add, that no people, either ancient or modern, ever conceived the art of architecture on so sublime and so grand a scale as the ancient Egyptians. Their conceptions were those of men a hundred feet high ; and the imagination, which in Europe rises far above our porticos, sinks abashed at the foot of the hundred and forty columns of the hypostyle hall at Karnac.”

The traveller from Europe usually lands at Alexandria, a city which in any other part of the world would be denominated ancient. The Pillar which graces that capital of the Grecian kings was long associated with the memory of Pompey the Great ; but an inscription which, in our own days, has been distinctly made out, proves that its last dedication was in honour of the Emperor Diocletian, and by a prefect who happened to bear the same name as the rival of Julius Cæsar. We have already remarked that it was no uncommon occurrence, during the successive dynasties which governed the Egyptians, to carve the titles of princes on palaces, temples, and obelisks, which were erected a thousand years before their accession to power ; whence it must



POMPEY'S PILLAR, OBELISK OF CLEOPATRA, AND ROMAN TOWER.

Page 171.

appear that nothing can be more fallacious, viewed as a test of antiquity, than the names which are found in inscriptions; even in those of the hieroglyphic class. Mr Salt, as was stated in a former chapter, traced the appellation of one of the Ptolemies engraved over that of Psammeticus,—the sovereign, it is probable, in whose reign the original building was raised.

CHAP. VI.

Fallacies in
hieroglyphic
inscriptions.

The Alexandrian Pillar stands upon a pedestal twelve feet high, which has obviously been formed of stones previously used for some other purpose. The shaft is round, about ninety feet in length, and surmounted by a Corinthian capital which adds ten feet more to the elevation. The column, we believe, is one block of porphyry, although it has more usually been described as consisting of syenite or Egyptian granite. It is nine feet in diameter, with a perceptible entasis, but without hieroglyphs; remarkably well cut, and very little injured by the effects of time. No one, however, can fail to perceive that the shaft does not correspond with the capital, base, and pedestal, which are extremely poor both in execution and taste.*

It is to be deeply regretted that the architectural beauties of this celebrated monument are not a little defaced by the undue freedoms which have been used by certain European visitors. One of the latest writers on the subject informs us, that, what with black paint and red ochre, pitch and sand, the pedestal and the lower part of the shaft may now rival the party-coloured mantle of Jacob's favourite son. It was in vain to look for any of Diocletian's inscriptions, since the scribbling of those who had ascended to the top had obliterated all other traces. It appears that, in March 1827, the officers of the Glasgow ship of war, by means of flying a kite,

Vulgar practices of modern travellers.

* Mr Madox, one of the latest travellers in Egypt, remarks, that "Pompey's Pillar stands upon a slight elevation, not far from the sea and the town, and near the canal. The shaft is one piece of granite, perfect, and well polished. The foundation of the pedestal has been damaged and repaired."—*Excursions in Holy Land, &c.,* vol. i. p. 101.

CHAP. VI.

Ascent of
the column.

had passed a string over the top of the column,—to this they fastened a cord, and, eventually, a rope-ladder. Their example has been followed by the crew of almost every king's ship since stationed in that port. Breakfasts have been given, and letters written on the top, and even a lady has had the courage to ascend. But the British flag, on one occasion, having by a party been left floating from the summit of the pillar, the governor took so much offence as to prohibit all such frolics for the time to come.*

Different
readings of
the inscrip-
tion.

There is a want of unanimity among travellers as to the precise import of the inscription on this famous pillar. M. Quatremère has ascertained that there was in the time of Diocletian a prefect whose name was Pompeius, and thereby afforded a strong corroboration to the opinion of those who think that the monument was raised in honour of that emperor by one of his deputies. But Clarke read the Greek characters so as to substitute Adrian instead of Diocletian; and found out, at the same time, that the name of the commander who dedicated the column was Posthumus rather than Pompeius. The greater number, however, follow the version which retains the latter appellation, and which by that means accounts so easily for the vulgar error in regard to the object of the erection.

Foundation
and sub-
structure.

We are informed by Denon that, the earth about the foundations of the pillar having been dug away, two fragments of an obelisk of white marble were discovered to have been added to the original substructure. These, Dr Clarke thinks, must have been intended merely to maintain the base in its adjusted position until the pedestal could be raised upon it, and that they were not meant to contribute to the support of the column. It is chiefly deserving of notice, however, that the block on which the pedestal rests is inscribed on the four sides with hieroglyphs, the figures or characters of which,

* Travels in the Crimea.—A similar feat was accomplished in 1777 by an English captain. See *Irwin's Voyage*.

being inverted, show that it has been turned upside down ; thus affording a complete proof that the stone must have belonged to some more ancient work, which was probably in ruins before the pillar was erected in its present site.

In a remote unfrequented part of the city stands the obelisk well known by the name of Cleopatra's Needle, and which is described as a fine piece of granite covered with hieroglyphs. There were originally two of these, apparently brought from Heliopolis or Thebes to adorn the entrance to the palace of the Ptolemies. About twelve years ago, when Dr Richardson visited Alexandria, the one stood erect, the other lay prostrate on the ground ; but in reference to the latter, he remarks that it was mounted on props, and seemed as if "prepared for a journey." It has been since removed, with the view of being conveyed to England, though it has not yet, so far as we have been able to learn, reached its destination. The dimensions are sixty-four feet in length, and eight feet square at the base.*

Alexandria presents many other remains of sumptuous buildings, concerning which there is no tradition among the inhabitants on which any reliance can be placed. On each side of what appears to have been one of the principal streets are still to be seen rows of stately marble columns, all overturned and neglected. They are conjectured to be the relics of a magnificent colonnade which extended between the gates of the Sun and Moon, and was regarded as one of the most striking ornaments

CHAP VI.
Antiquity of
its materials

Cleopatra's
needle.

Ancient
Alexandrian
remains.

* The obelisk has not yet been removed, and is not now likely to be, as it has been buried under recently erected fortifications of Mahomed Ali, where it may lie in all probability for centuries, before it is again brought to light. Mr. Madox remarks that Cleopatra's Needles "are each hewn out of a single block of granite, and are completely covered with hieroglyphics," he adds, "one has been thrown down and almost buried in the sand, and towards the end which rests upon its base, the inscriptions are much effaced. Those on the southern and western sides of the upright column are very perfect, though the others are considerably obliterated.—EXCURSIONS IN EGYPT, &c. vol. i. p. 99.

CHAP. VI.

Turkish
barbarism.

Ruins of
the ancient
town.

Catacombs of
Alexandria.

Their
Grecian
character.

Baths.

of the city ; but in the hands of the Turks, it has been justly observed, every thing goes to decay, and nothing is repaired. Wherever an excavation is made, an arch, a pillar, or a rich cornice, indicates that a splendid structure had once occupied the ground, though these relics can supply no information as to the object, the date, the name, or the founder. For miles the suburbs are covered with the ruins of the ancient town. Heaps of brick and mortar, mixed with broken shafts and mutilated capitals, cover immense vaults, which, serving as reservoirs of water, are replenished on every overflow of the Nile. Perhaps much of this devastation, as well as of the ignorance which prevails respecting it, may be attributed to the effects of that fatal earthquake which swallowed up 50,000 of the inhabitants, and threw down the loftiest of their edifices. But on such subjects all inquiry is vain ; for the traveller finds that the degraded beings who now occupy the wrecks of this superb metropolis, are equally indifferent and ill-informed as to every event which preceded their own times.

The Catacombs of Alexandria present nothing very remarkable, being in a condition nearly as ruinous as the city whose dead they were intended to receive. The real entrance to these subterraneous abodes is unknown ; the present passage opening from the seashore like the approach into a grotto, while most of the chambers are so entirely choked up with sand that it is extremely difficult to crawl into them even on the hands and knees. Their form, as well as the doors, pilasters, and sarcophagi, show them to be the work of Grecian artists ; but, although in size they are fully equal to the Egyptian catacombs, yet in respect of decoration they are not once to be compared to them. All along the shore of the western harbour are numerous sepulchres of inconsiderable note, some of them under the rock ; many are merely cut into it, and open to the air ; and not a few are under the level of the sea. Several baths are likewise exhibited in this quarter, which as usual are assigned to Cleopatra ; but such of them as are now to be

seen are equally small and incommodious, and of a description far too inferior to countenance the supposition that they had ever been used by her whose beauty and accomplishments triumphed over the heroes of Rome.*

In ascending the Nile we shall take no notice of Cairo, because the works which it exhibits do not serve to illustrate the principles of the arts, or to display the remains of the grandeur for which the ancient Egyptians are celebrated. We should willingly detain the reader at Memphis, did any remains of its magnificence occupy the ground on which it once stood, to gratify the rational curiosity its name cannot fail to excite. But we shall only quote from an old writer a description of that capital as it appeared in the twelfth century. "Among the monuments of the power and genius of the ancients," says Edrisi, "are the remains still extant in Old Misr or Memphis. That city, a little above Fostat, in the province of Djizeh, was inhabited by the Pharaohs, and is the ancient capital of the kingdom of Egypt. Such it continued to be till ruined by Bokht-nasr (Nebuchadnezzar); but many years afterwards, when Alexander had built Iskanderiyeh (Alexandria), this latter place was made the metropolis of Egypt, and retained that pre-eminence till the Moslems conquered the country under Amru ebn el Aasi, who transferred the seat of government to Fostat. At last El Moez came from the west and built El Cahirah (Cairo), which has ever since been the royal place of residence. But let us return to the description of Memf, also called Old Misr. Notwithstanding the vast extent of this city, the remote period at which it was built, the change of the dynasties to which it has been subjected, the attempts made by various nations to destroy even the vestiges, and to obliterate every trace of it by removing the stones and materials of which it was formed, ruining its houses and defacing its sculptures; notwithstanding all this, combined with what more than four thousand years must have

Modern
character
of Cairo.

Memphis in
the twelfth
century.

Its rebuild-
ing.

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. p. 21.

CHAP. VI. done towards its destruction, there are yet found in it works so wonderful that they confound even a reflecting mind, and are such as the most eloquent would not be able to describe. The more you consider them the more does your astonishment increase ; and the more you look at them the more pleasure you experience. Every idea which they suggest immediately gives birth to some other still more novel and unexpected ; and as soon as you imagine that you have traced out their full scope, you discover that there is something still greater behind."

Monolithic temple.

Among the works here alluded to, he specifies a monolithic temple, similar to the one mentioned by Herodotus, adorned with curious sculptures. He next expatiates upon the idols found among the ruins, not less remarkable for the beauty of their forms, the exactness of their proportions, and perfect resemblance to nature, than for their truly astonishing dimensions. We measured one of them, he says, which, without including the pedestal, was forty-five feet in height, fifteen feet from side to side, and from back to front in the same proportion. It was of one block of red granite, covered with a coating of red varnish, the antiquity of which seemed only to increase its lustre.*

Present extent of the ruins.

The ruins of Memphis, in his time, extended to the distance of half a day's journey in every direction. But so rapidly has the work of destruction proceeded since the twelfth century, that few points have been more debated by modern travellers than the site of this celebrated metropolis. Dr Pococke and Mr Bruce, with every show of reason, fixed upon Metrahenny,—a conclusion which was opposed by Dr Shaw, who argued in favour of Djizeh. But the investigations of the French appear to have decided the question. "At Metrhainé, one league from Sakhara, we found so many blocks of granite covered with hieroglyphics and sculptures around and within an esplanade three leagues in circumference,

* Abdollatiph's Abridgment of Edrisi, translated by M. Silvestre de Sacy. *Encyclopædia Metropolitana, article Egypt.*

enclosed by heaps of rubbish, that we were convinced that these must be the ruins of Memphis. The sight of some fragments of one of those colossuses, which Herodotus says were erected by Sesostris at the entrance of the temple of Vulcan, would, indeed, have been sufficient to dispel our doubts had any remained. The wrist of this colossus, which Citizen Couteille caused to be removed, shows that it must have been forty-five feet high.”*

CHAP. VL
Gigantic proportions of the Colossus.

The ruins of Beni Hassan, although comparatively a modern place, bear decided marks of antiquity; the materials of the principal buildings having been conveyed from some more ancient town,—a practice which appears to have become frequent under the Ptolemies as well as during the Roman ascendency. The grottos, however, which were once the abodes of holy hermits, are the most striking remains of this village, and are remarkable for paintings, of which Mr Hamilton has given an elaborate account. The ceilings of these chambers are generally arched, while others are supported by columns cut out of the rock, having a truly Egyptian character, and the appearance of four branches of palm-trees tied together. The largest is sixty feet in length, and forty in height; to the south of it are seventeen smaller apartments, and probably the same number to the north. Ten columns originally supported this large chamber, four of which are fallen down. There were two other rooms of nearly similar dimensions, from which, as in the former case, there were doorways leading into inferior apartments, suggesting the idea of halls surrounded by cells for the private accommodation of the inmates.

Columns.

Ashmonein, the ancient Hermopolis Magna, is now Ashmonein. reduced to the state of a village, though the remains of its former magnificence may yet be traced over an area four miles in circumference. The portico of a temple is described by Mr Legh, who saw it in the year 1813, as

* *Courrier de l'Egypte.* A plan of the ruins is given by M Jacotin in the *Description de l'Egypte*.

CHAP. VI.

Massive
portico.Chromatic
decorations.Modern
origin of
Antinopolis.

Siout.

Norden's de-
scription of
sepulchral
grottos.

being still quite perfect. It consists of twelve massive columns, which are not built of cylindrical blocks of stone, but each block is formed of several pieces so neatly joined together that, where they are not injured by time, it is difficult to discover the junction of the several fragments. The columns are arranged in two rows, distant from each other twelve feet; and the roof is formed of large flags of stone, covered with stucco and beautifully ornamented. The columns and the whole interior of the portico have been painted; among the colours, red, blue, and yellow, seem to predominate. The hieroglyphs on the plinths are different on each front, but they are the same on every plinth on the same front. The capitals, which in some degree represent the tulip in bud, are let into the columns. Several other shafts of granite are scattered about near the temple, bearing distinct evidence to its original extent and grandeur.

We pass by Antinopolis or Sheikh Ababdé, because its features unequivocally denote its modern origin, and fix its larger buildings to the time of the Romans. It is said to have been erected by the Emperor Adrian in memory of Antinous, who perished in the Nile, and it has been remarked that its colonnades, triumphal arches, baths, and amphitheatres, are as little in unison with the surrounding objects, and as foreign to the soil in which they stand, as was the new capital raised by the same people at Treves, on the banks of the Moselle.

Siout, which is now esteemed the metropolis of Upper Egypt, is better stored with the relics of former days, consisting, however, of tombs and sepulchral grottos rather than of the more lively monuments of antiquity, the palaces and temples of the victorious Pharaohs. Norden describes at some length those primeval repositories of the dead, which are excavated in the mountains about half a league from the modern town. Passing a gateway, the visitor enters a large saloon supported by hexagonal pillars hewn out of the rock itself. The roofs are adorned with paintings, which can be distinguished sufficiently well even at present; and the gold that was

employed in the decoration glitters on all sides. There are perceived here and there some openings which lead to other apartments ; but the accumulation of sand and rubbish prevents all ingress. He suggests that there are three tiers of tombs approachable by separate avenues from the outside,—an opinion which is confirmed by Sir F. Henniker, who observed in the second story an excavation of 108 feet by 78, the entrance of which was ornamented with some costly sculptures. Denon, indeed, assures us that all the inner porches of these grottos are covered with hieroglyphs :—“Months,” says he, “would be required to read them, even if one knew the language, and it would take years to copy them. One thing I saw by the little daylight that enters the first porch,—that all the elegancies of ornament which the Greeks have employed in their architecture, all the wavy lines and scrolls, and other Greek forms, are here executed with taste and exquisite delicacy. If one of these excavations were a single operation, as the uniform regularity of the plan of each would seem to indicate, it must have been an immense labour to construct a tomb. But we may suppose that such a one, when finished, would serve for ever for the sepulture of a whole family, or even race, and that some religious worship was regularly paid to the dead ; else, where would have been the use of such laboured ornaments in the form of inscriptions never to be read, and a ruinous, secret, and buried splendour. At different periods or at annual festivals, or when some new inhabitant was added to the tombs, funereal rites were doubtless performed, in which the pomp of ceremony might vie with the magnificence of the place. This is the more probable, as the richness of decoration in the interior forms a most striking contrast with the outer walls, which are only the rough natural rock. I found one of these caves with a single saloon, in which were an innumerable quantity of graves cut in the rock in regular order ; they had been ransacked with the view of procuring mummies, and I found several fragments of their contents, such as linen, hands, feet, and

CHAP. VL

Arrange-
ments of
Tombs.Hieroglyphic
inscriptions.Immense
labour ex-
pended on
the tombs.Probable
funeral rites.

CHAP. VI. loose bones. Besides these principal grottos, there is such a countless number of smaller excavations that the whole rock is cavernous, and resounds under the foot."*

Antæopolis. The temple at Antæopolis, the modern Gau el Kebir, is well deserving of attention, and more especially as it is fast mouldering into a heap of ruins. The portico, in the year 1813, consisted of three rows, each of six columns, eight feet in diameter, and, with their entablature, sixty-two feet high. This structure, which, from its situation in a thick grove of palm-trees, is perhaps the most picturesque in Egypt, stands close to the banks of the Nile, whose waters have already undermined some part of it, and threaten to wash the whole away. The columns, architraves, and indeed every stone of the building, are covered with hieroglyphs in bas-relief. At the farthest extremity of the temple is an immense block of granite of a pyramidal form, twelve feet high and nine feet square at the base, in which a niche has been cut seven feet in height, four feet wide, and three deep. It is hollowed out as if for the reception of a statue, though Mr Legh imagined that the cavity was meant as a chest or depository for the sacred birds.

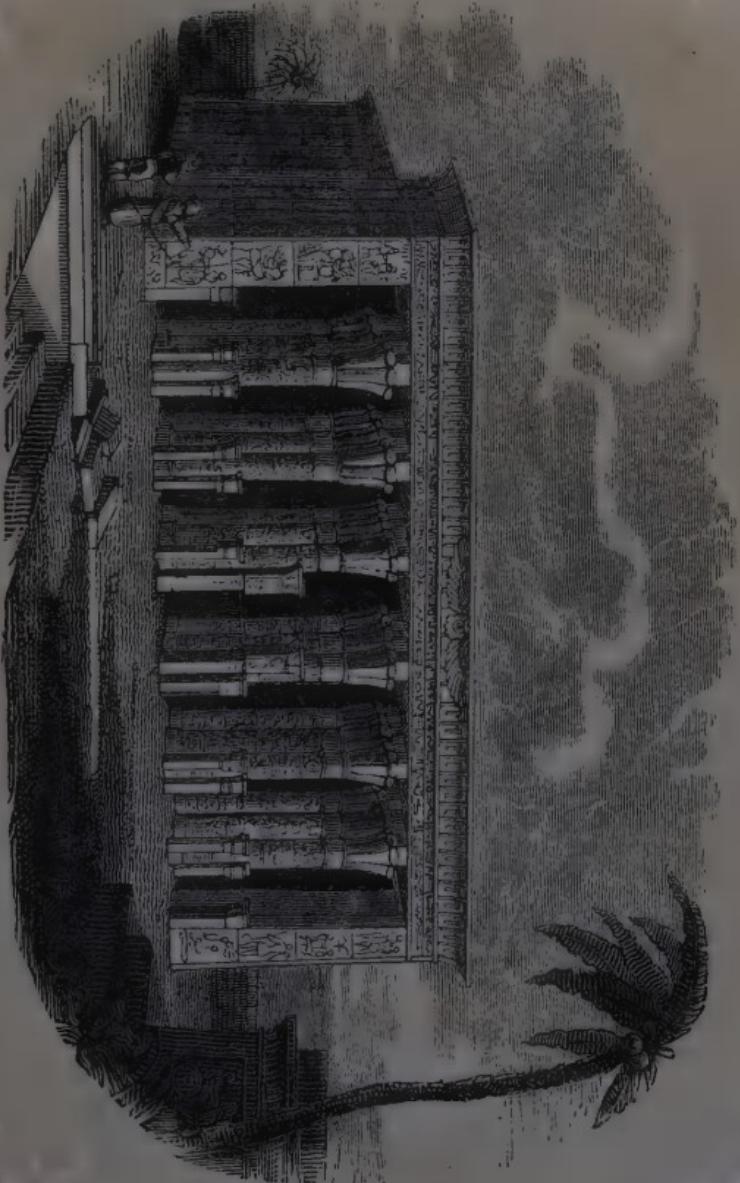
Remains in 1817.

Architectural details.

In the year 1817, many overturned stones and pillars were lying on the brink of the river, or had fallen into its channel. Of the portico just described only one column remained standing, presenting a shaft from forty to fifty feet in height, wrought into panels, and surmounted with a capital like the calix of a flower. The space between each of the compartments was occupied by rows of hieroglyphs; and the compartments themselves were filled with figures of Osiris, Isis, and Anubis, receiving offerings under different forms. A column, which seemed to have recently fallen down at its side, consisted of the same number of stones, and was sculptured in a similar manner.

Two years afterwards, the fine vestibule of Antæopolis was entirely levelled with the ground. The Nile, in

* Denon, vol. i. p. 150.



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF ANTAKOPOLIS.

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this part of its course, had long been advancing towards CHAP. VI.
the eastern side of the valley, and washing away the foundations of such buildings as stood upon its right bank ; when, in the year just mentioned, in consequence of an unusually high inundation, it completed the work of destruction, reducing this splendid monument of ancient piety to a mass of ruins. We have endeavoured to preserve in a plate an accurate representation of the appearance which it exhibited at the beginning of this century, when as yet the main parts of the pronaos were perfectly entire.*

As our object in this survey of ancient buildings and ruined cities is not confined to a mere topographical description, we omit several small towns situated on either bank of the Nile, because they no longer present any remains of art to connect them with the period to which our retrospect extends. In ascending the Thebaid, however, we are arrested by the interesting relics of Abydos, the modern Arabat, supposed by Strabo to have been the residence of Memnon ; although, in the days of this geographer, it was already reduced to a paltry village. A few blocks and columns of granite continue to assure the traveller that the desolate region which he has entered was once a scene of splendour and a field for an active population. A large building, too, of the highest antiquity, will convince him that Abydos must have held a distinguished place among the cities of Upper Egypt. Mr Hamilton tells us that this edifice appeared entire, but was so much choked up with sand that it was extremely difficult either to enter the apartments or to examine the architecture. The area which it occupied was nearly a rectangle of 350 feet by 150. The pillars were conjectured to be about thirty feet in height ; which did not, however, exhibit any remarkable sculptures or paintings. One peculiarity of this building could not be observed without interest :—

Its total destruction.

Inferior ruins.

Evidence of former distinction.

* Legh, p. 95. Richardson, vol. i. p. 178. Encyclop. Metropol. article Egypt.

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Interesting peculiarity
of this ruin.

"From the west point we could enter into seven chambers of similar dimensions, measuring thirty-six feet in length, sixteen feet and a half in width, and five feet six inches in height ; the only instance of the kind I have ever witnessed of undoubted Egyptian architecture. The arches, however, are not constructed on the principle of the arch, and cannot therefore be adduced as any evidence of such principles having been known to, and put in practice by, the Egyptians. The architraves, or rather rafters of the rooms, as well as the upper layer of stones on each side-wall, are cut out so as to resemble an arched roof ; and perhaps they are thus executed in imitation of those which the same people used to form for the catacombs and sepulchres which they excavated in the rocks."*

Adjacent ruins.

Four hundred yards farther north are the traces of another building, which appears to have been a temple, though little now remains but the fragments of three gateways formed of granite. In size it has been much inferior to the edifice just described, being only 250 feet in length, and 120 feet wide. Such ruins seem to justify the conclusion, which has been drawn by recent travellers, that Arabat represents the ancient Abydos, and also that the great structure is the Memnonium celebrated by Strabo.

Accumula-
tions of sand.

As the sand continues to gain ground all along the precincts of the western desert, the difficulty of entering this palace of Memnon is every year increased. In 1821, when Sir F. Henniker visited Egypt, the external lineaments of the royal dwelling were so entirely obliterated that it was not easy to imagine a building could be concealed in the spot where he was directed to seek for it. On the roof, which alone occupies nearly as much space

* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*, p. 259. Since Dr. Russell wrote this work, entirely different opinions have been adopted. Both Wilkinson, and Colonel Howard Vyse have discovered stone arches of pure Egyptian workmanship ; and arches formed with bricks of a very remote era.—*PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH*, vol i. p. 218.

as the neighbouring village, he stepped fifty-four long paces on stones that have never yet been removed, though he observed signs of destruction at either end. There are some small chambers in the pile, in which the colour of the painting is so well preserved that doubts immediately arise as to the length of time it has been done. The best works even of the Venetian school betray their age; but the colours here, supposed to have been in existence two thousand years before the time of Titian, are at this moment as fresh as if they had been laid on an hour ago. The stones of which this fabric is built measure in some cases about twenty-two feet in length; the span of the arch is cut in a single stone; a portico is still visible; and each individual part is of exquisite workmanship, though badly put together. This writer agrees with Mr Hamilton in the opinion that the ancient Egyptians did not understand the principle of the arch. One chamber, in particular, appears to demonstrate at once their intention and their inability,—the span of the arch being cut in two stones, each of which bears an equal segment of the circle. These placed together would naturally have fallen, but they are upheld by a pillar placed at the point of contact,—an expedient which leaves no doubt that, in this important triumph of architectural invention, the subjects of the Pharaohs had not attained their usual success. If, says he, those who raised the pyramids and built Thebes, and elevated the obelisks of Luxor, had been acquainted with the principle of the arch, they would have thrown bridges across the Nile, and have erected to Isis and Osiris domes more magnificent than those of St Peter's and St Paul's.*

It was in one of the inmost chambers of the more spacious edifice at Abydos that Mr W. Banks, in 1818, discovered a large hieroglyphical tablet containing a long series of royal names, as was evident from the ring, border, or, as the French call it, the *cartouche*,

Extent of
the ruins.

Durability
of their
colouring.

Ignorance of
the principle
of the arch.

* A Visit to Egypt, p. 112.

CHAP. VI. which surrounds each designation. On examination, it proved to be a genealogical register of the immediate predecessors of Rameses the Great, the Sethos or Setthosis of Manetho, the Sesoosis of Diodorus, and the Sesostris of Herodotus. A careful comparison of it with other documents enabled M. Champollion to ascertain, with a considerable degree of probability, the period in which the sixteenth and following dynasties mentioned by Manetho must have occupied the throne. The epochs thus determined, though still liable to some objections, are supported by so many concurrent and independent testimonies as to warrant the expectation, now entertained by many chronologists, that they will ultimately be established beyond the reach of controversy.*

Ruins of
Dendera.

Inferences
of Champol-
lion.

Proportions.

Decorations.

Dendera, which is commonly identified with the ancient Tentyra, presents some very striking examples of that sumptuous architecture which the people of Egypt lavished upon their places of worship. The gateway, in particular, which leads to the temple of Isis has excited universal admiration. Each front, as well as the interior, is covered with sculptured hieroglyphs, which are executed with a richness, a precision, elegance of form, and variety of ornament, surpassing in many respects the similar edifices which are found at Thebes and Philoe. The height is forty-two feet, the width thirty-three, and the depth seventeen. Having passed through less important ruins the visitor comes to an elegant gateway or propylon, which is also of sandstone, neatly hewn, and completely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphs remarkably well cut. Immediately over the centre of the doorway is the beautiful Egyptian ornament usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematical of the glorious sun poised in the airy firmament of heaven supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. The temple itself still retains all its original magnificence. The centuries which have elapsed since the era of its foundation have

* Encyclopædia Metropolitana, article Egypt.



VIEW OF THE NORTHERN GATE OF DENDEREA OR TENTYRA.
Page 189.

scarcely affected it in any important part, and have impressed upon it no greater appearance of age than serves to render it more venerable and imposing. To Mr Hamilton, who had seen innumerable monuments of the same kind throughout the Thebaid, it seemed as if he were now witnessing the highest degree of architectural excellence that had ever been attained on the borders of the Nile. Here were concentrated the united labours of ages, and the last effort of human art and industry in that uniform line of construction which had been adopted in the earliest times.

The portico consists of twenty-four columns, in three rows; each above twenty-two feet in circumference, thirty-two feet high, and covered with hieroglyphs. On the front, Isis is in general the principal figure to whom offerings are made; while on the architrave are represented two processions of men and women bringing to their goddess, and to Osiris who is sitting behind her, globes encompassed with cows' horns, mitred snakes, lotus flowers, vases, little boats, graduated staffs, and other instruments of their emblematical worship. The interior of the pronaos is adorned with sculptures, most of them preserving part of the paint with which they have been covered. Those on the ceiling are peculiarly rich and varied, all illustrative of the union between the astronomical and religious creeds of the ancient Egyptians; yet, though each separate figure is well preserved and perfectly intelligible, we must be more intimately acquainted with the real principles of the sciences, as they were then taught, before we can undertake to explain the signs in which they were embodied.

The sekos, or interior of the temple, consists of several apartments, all the walls and ceilings of which are in the same way covered with religious and astronomical representations. The roofs, as is usual in Egypt, are flat, formed of oblong masses of stone resting on the side-walls; and when the distance between these is too great, one or two rows of columns are carried down the middle of the apartment, on which the huge flags are supported.

CHAP. VI.

Impressions produced by it.

Great portico.

Sculptured decorations.

Symbolic devices on the ceiling.

Interior apartments.

CHAP. VI.
Capitals of
the columns.

The capitals of these columns are very richly ornamented with the budding lotus, the stalks of which, being extended a certain way down the shaft, give it the appearance of being fluted, or rather scalloped. The rooms have been lighted by small perpendicular holes cut in the ceiling, and, where it was possible to introduce them, by oblique ones in the sides. But some idea may be formed of the perpetual gloom in which the apartments on the ground-floor of the sekos must have been buried, from the fact that, where no side-light could be introduced, all they received was communicated from the apartment above; so that, notwithstanding the cloudless sky and the brilliant colours on the walls, the place must have been always well calculated for the mysterious practices of the religion to which it was consecrated.

Attic temple. On one corner of the roof there was a chapel or temple twenty feet square, consisting of twelve columns, exactly similar in figure and proportions to those of the pronaos. The use to which it may have been applied must probably remain one of the secrets connected with the mystical and sometimes cruel service in which the priests of Isis were employed, though it is by no means unlikely that it was meant as a repository for books and instruments collected for the more innocent and exalted pursuits of practical astronomy.

Chambers on
the roof.

Towards the eastern end of the roof are two separate sets of apartments, one on the north and the other on the south side of it. The latter consists of three rooms, the first of which is only remarkable for the representation of a human sacrifice. A man, with the head and ears of an ass, is kneeling on the ground, tied with his hands behind him to a tree, with two knives driven into his forehead, two in the shoulders, one in his body, and another in the thigh. Five priests, with the heads of dogs and hawks, are in a row behind him, each having a knife in his hand. The deity, before whom the mactation is about to be performed, is clothed in a long white garment, and holds in his right hand the crook or crosier, with the flagellum.

Singular
representa-
tion of
human
sacrifice.

The ceiling of the next room is divided into two compartments by a figure of Isis in very high relief. In one of them is the circular zodiac ; in the other a variety of boats with four or five human figures in each ; one of whom is in the act of spearing a large egg, while others are stamping with their feet upon the victims of their fury, among which are several human beings. Near this scene a large lion supported by four dog-headed figures, each carrying a knife, may be regarded as an additional type of the sanguinary purposes for which the apartment was used. The walls of the third room are covered with the several representations of a person,—first at the point of death lying on a couch ; then stretched out lifeless upon a bier ; and, finally, after being embalmed. As these sculptures are much more defaced than the others, it is very difficult to decipher their details. But the ensigns of royalty and the presence of the deity are, in general, clearly discernible ; on which account it is not improbable that the scenes may bear an allusion to the death of some sovereign of the country who was honoured as the patron of religion or of science.

The western wall of the great temple is particularly interesting for the extreme elegance of the sculpture,—as far as Egyptian sculpture is susceptible of that character,—for the richness of the dresses in which the priests and deities are arrayed, and even of the chairs in which the latter are seated. Here are frequent representations of men who seem prepared for slaughter or just going to be put to death. On these occasions one or more appear, with their hands or legs tied to the trunk of a tree, in the most painful and distorted attitudes.

The grand projecting cornice, one of the most imposing features of Egyptian architecture, is continued the whole length of this and the other walls ; a moulding separates it from the architrave ; and, being carried down the angles of the building, gives to the whole finished appearance, combined with symmetry of parts and chasteness of ornament.

In a small chapel behind the temple, the cow and the

CHAP. VI.
The Zodiac.

Death and
embalming.

Sculpture of
the western
wall.

Cornice.

CHAP. VI.

Worship of
the cow and
hawk.

Propylon.

Second
propylon.Great
enclosure.

hawk seem to have been particularly worshipped, as priests are frequently seen kneeling before them presenting sacrifices and offerings. In the centre of the ceiling is the same front face of Isis in high relief, illuminated as it were by a body of rays issuing from the mouth of a certain long figure, which, in the other temples, appears to encircle the heavenly bodies. About two hundred yards eastward from this chapel is a propylon of small dimensions, resembling in form that which conducts to the great temple, and like it built in a line with the wall which surrounds the sacred enclosure. Among the sculptures on it, which appear of the same style but less finished than those on the large edifice, little more is worthy of notice than the frequent exhibition of human slaughter by men or by lions. Still farther towards the east there is another propylon, equally well preserved with the rest, about forty feet in height, and twenty feet square at the base. Among the sacred figures on this building is an Isis pointing with a reed to a graduated staff held by another figure of the same deity, from which are suspended scales containing water animals; the whole group, perhaps, being an emblem of her influence over the Nile in regulating its periodical inundations.

The enclosure within which all the sacred edifices of Dendera, with the exception of the last propylon, are contained, is a square of about a thousand feet. It is surrounded by a wall which, where best preserved, is thirty-five feet in height, and fifteen feet thick. The crude bricks of which it is built were found to be fifteen inches and a half long, seven and three quarters broad, and four inches and three quarters thick. There have been at certain intervals projections of the wall or towers; but it is difficult to say whether for purposes of defence or strength.*

France has done much to make the world acquainted with Egyptian antiquities, and, had the agents she

* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*, p. 196-204.

employed performed their work with fidelity, would have been entitled to our warmest gratitude. But the rubbish was never cleared away from the walls or from the interior of this temple ; and being unable to give the whole of any one building, they represent it in patches, and those so incorrectly, that no person, on examining them, can be sure whether he is studying the compositions of the ancient Egyptians or of the modern French. In fact no part of their work can serve as an unsuspected guide to the student of antiquities on the banks of the Nile.

As Dr Richardson is one of the latest travellers who have published upon Egypt, we are induced to give his description of the inside of the magnificent fane now under our consideration. "The first apartment has three columns on each hand, all covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and surmounted at the top, like those already mentioned, with the head of Isis Quadrifrons. The walls behind the columns are equally enriched ; so that there is not a spot the eye can rest on but addresses to the mind a tale of interest and wonder ; though no man can read or unfold its precise meaning, yet each forms to himself some conjecture of the story, and is pleased with the constant exercise of his mind. Passing on we entered another apartment which has no columns, but the walls are decorated in the same manner ; then we moved into a third, which was equally so, and from thence passages go off to small handsome side-chambers, equally ornamented with figures, and stars, and hieroglyphics, and a sort of chain-work along the ceiling, of a blue colour. The passage to the right leads to an easy handsome stair, by which to ascend to the top of the building ; we continued our way, however, straight forward, and entered another chamber, in the centre of which stands the sanctuary, or holiest apartment, all of them rich in sculpture and hieroglyphics. Never did I see a greater field for thought or reflection, and never did I regret more the want of time than in visiting the superb temple of Dendera."*

CHAP. VI.

Untrust-worthy character of the French drawings.

Dr. Richardson's description.

Successive chambers.

* Travels, vol. i. p. 205.

CHAP. VI.

Denon's enthusiasm.

Influence on the imagination.

Means of the builders.

Astonishing multiplicity of objects.

The enthusiasm of a Frenchman seeks expressions still more elevated to give utterance to his feelings. "I wish," exclaims Denon, "that I could here transfuse into the soul of my reader the sensations which I experienced. I was too much lost in astonishment to be capable of cool judgment; all that I had hitherto seen served here but to fix my admiration. This monument seemed to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the highest perfection. I felt that I was in the sanctuary of the arts and sciences. How many periods presented themselves to my imagination at the sight of such an edifice! How many ages of creative ingenuity were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts; and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty productions to be forgotten, and to bring back the human race to the state of nature in which I found them on this very spot! Never was there a place which concentrated in a narrower compass the well-marked memorial of a progressive lapse of ages. What unceasing power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess which could erect such an edifice, and find within itself artists capable of conceiving and executing the design of decorating and enriching it with every thing that speaks to the eye and the understanding! Never did the labour of man show me the human race in such a splendid point of view; in the ruins of Tentyra the Egyptians appeared to me giants. I wished to take every thing on paper, but I could hardly venture to begin the work: I felt that, not being able to raise my powers to the height which was before my admiring eyes, I could only show the imperfection of the imitative art. I was confused by the multiplicity of objects, astonished by their novelty, and tormented by the fear of never again visiting them. On casting my eyes on the ceilings, I had perceived zodiacs, planetary systems, and celestial hemispheres, represented in a tasteful arrangement: I saw that the Supreme Being, the First Cause, was every where depicted by the emblems of his

attributes ; and I had but a few hours to examine, to CHAP. VI.
 reflect on, and to copy, what it had been the labour of
 ages to conceive, to put together, and to decorate. With
 my pencil in my hand, I passed from object to object, distracted from one by the inviting appearance of the next, constantly attracted to new subjects, and again torn from them. I wanted eyes, hands, and intelligence vast enough to see, copy, and reduce to some order the multitude of striking images which presented themselves before me. I was ashamed at representing such sublime objects by such imperfect designs, but I wished to preserve some memorial of the sensations which I here experienced, and I feared that Tentyra would escape from me for ever ; so that my regret equalled my present enjoyment. I had just discovered, in a small apartment, ^{Close of the day.} a celestial planisphere, when the last rays of daylight made me perceive that I was alone here, along with my kind and obliging friend General Beliard, who, after having satisfied his own curiosity, would not leave me unprotected in so deserted a spot. We galloped on and regained our division.—In the evening, Latournerie, an officer of brilliant courage and of a refined and delicate taste, said to me, ‘ Since I have been in Egypt, deceived in all my expectations, I have been constantly heavy and melancholy, but Tentyra has cured me : what I have seen this day has repaid me for all my fatigues ; whatever happens to me in the event of this expedition, I shall all my life congratulate myself at having embarked in it, to have obtained the remembrance of this day, which I shall preserve all the rest of my existence.’ ”*

This extract will afford the means of judging how far the members of the French Institute had an opportunity of examining the buildings of which they have undertaken to give at once a description and a copy. Denon himself admits that, as their troops were engaged in pursuit of an enemy constantly mounted, the movements of the division were invariably both unforeseen and com-

Their distracting nature.

^{Close of the day.}

Imperfect opportunities of the French savana.

* Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, vol. i. p. 295.

CHAP. VI. plicated ; and, consequently, that he was sometimes obliged to pass rapidly over the most interesting monuments, and, at other times, to stop where there was nothing to observe.*

Drawings by Denon. We must not, however, omit to mention that, at a subsequent period, Denon returned to this interesting scene of antiquities, where he copied the zodiac and the celestial planisphere, which have excited so much discussion among the philosophers of Europe. He copied also the rest of the ceiling, which is divided into two equal parts by the large figure already mentioned, that seems to be an Isis ; her feet resting upon the earth, her arms extended towards heaven, while she appears to occupy all the space between. In another part of the ceiling is a figure equally large, probably representing heaven or the year, with its hands and feet on the same level, and enfolding, with the curvature of the body, fourteen globes, placed on as many boats, distributed over seven beads or zones, separated from each other by numberless hieroglyphs, but too much covered with stalactites and smoke to allow of its being taken.

Supposed chronological discoveries.

Supposed date of the zodiac of Dendera.

All the world knows that the French mathematicians discovered in these astronomical drawings, compared with the corresponding emblems at Esneh, certain proofs of an antiquity usually thought inconsistent with the chronology of the Sacred Writings. Signor Visconti published some calculations on this subject, which drew from M. de Lalande a series of remarks, inserted in the "Connaissances des Tems" for the year 1807. These authors agree in the conclusion that the zodiac of Dendera must have been formed in the first century of the Christian era, or, at latest, before the year 132 of our epoch. Mr Hamilton discovered two facts tending greatly to confirm the opinion now stated ; the one fixing the reign of Tiberius as the period to which may be assigned the construction of the building ; the other affording the most satisfactory proof that the summer

* Preface, p. iii.

solstice was in Cancer when the zodiac was carved ; whence it follows that the date in question could not be far removed from the birth of Christ.

The coincidence here between the deductions of the astronomer and the observations of the traveller is very striking, and strengthens our confidence in the accuracy of both. But the speculations which follow on the celestial planisphere, as they assume a wider range, have not produced the same unanimity. From certain figures which are introduced, Lalande is of opinion that it must have been constructed at the time when the summer solstice was in the *middle* of the sign Cancer, or, in other words, about three thousand years ago ; and he refers his readers to the arguments he has adduced in another work, to prove that it was about this period the particular system of the heavens was devised, in which Eudoxus, eight hundred years afterwards, and Aratus his follower, described the sphere. While, however, he attributes this antiquity to the zodiac, he has no hesitation in allowing the probability that the temple itself, within which it is engraved, may be of a much later date.

From another process of calculation, into which our limits forbid us to enter, Mr Hamilton infers that we cannot assign to this astronomical picture an antiquity less remote than four thousand five hundred years, the period the sun must have taken to pass through the two adjacent signs of Leo and Cancer, according to the annual precession of the equinoxes. He adds, indeed, in a note, that if we place the sun in the middle of Leo at the time of the solstice when this zodiac was constructed, we shall then assign to it only the antiquity of three thousand two hundred years ; that is, fourteen hundred years before the Christian era. This would leave a space amply sufficient for the acquisition of astronomical knowledge between the Deluge and the date specified.*

The reasonings and conclusions, of which we have now presented an outline, have drawn upon their authors

Coincident deductions.

Astronomical evidence.

Calculations of Hamilton.

* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*, p. 215.

CHAP. VI.

Controversies on the subject.

Imperfect representations of Denon.

Errors both in character and style.

Opinion of the author.

a load of calumny by no means justifiable on any of the grounds which a generous and candid criticism is wont to assume. The positions, indeed, which they laboured to establish are liable to attack on various accounts, and especially because these are founded on a very incorrect copy of the astronomical sculptures which they undertook to explain. Denon appears to have spent but one day amid the ruins of Dendera, on a task which would have required the uninterrupted employment of several weeks ; and, accordingly, it is now nowhere denied that his drawings do not exhibit an exact representation, either of the zodiac or of the planisphere. Dr Richardson, who had an opportunity of comparing the French work with the original, admits the elegance of the execution, but declares that “ it is perfectly foppish, and not the least Egyptian in its style or manner. It is, besides, extremely incorrect both in the drawing of the figures and in the hieroglyphics, as well as in the number of stars which accompany them ; which last are both fewer in number, and differently arranged from what we found them to be in the ceiling. In point of sentiment it is equally inaccurate ; the several authors having imparted to the human figure an insipid and babyish expression, which one would not have expected from the companions of Napoleon ; and which is as foreign to the Egyptian character as the aspect of a child or an insipid coxcomb is to that of the Theseus, the Memnon, or the Apollo.”*

We cannot, however, agree with this intelligent traveller that the ceiling at Dendera has no connexion whatever with astronomy, but is merely a congregation of gods and goddesses, mythological beings, and religious processions. Perhaps there may be a scheme of general physics involved in the multifarious emblems displayed in the temple,—a theory of production and reproduction, of which the principles continue unknown,—but it is still more probable that the veneration shown by all

* Travels, vol. i. p. 240

ancient nations to the host of heaven, and an effort to trace their paths or positions in the immense regions of space, called forth the genius of the artist, and the wealth of the pious, in the ornaments of Tentyra.*

Our object in this chapter, we have already remarked, is not to illustrate the opinions of the Egyptians, but to present a record of their taste and ability in the fine arts. For this purpose no portion of their labours, since Thebes was trodden under foot and the Labyrinth disappeared, could be more happily selected than the ruins of Dendera. Its columns, statues, sculptures, and hieroglyphs, are the admiration of the most refined people at present on the face of the earth. Travellers, who can agree in nothing else, unite in extolling the wonders of the temple and portico. The ardent Frenchman, and the more phlegmatic native of Britain, are equally enthusiastic in their expressions of delight and astonishment. Even Belzoni, who was accustomed to the grandest sights, acknowledges that the majestic appearance of the temple,

CHAP. VI.

* Narrative, vol. i. p. 52. When at Dendera Mrs Elwood relates that "here we in vain searched for the famous circular zodiac which, by the descriptions of the temple we had read, we were aware must be in this neighbourhood; but, after a great number of pantomimic signs had passed between us, the Arab guide made us understand it had been taken away; and this we subsequently found was positively the case, a Frenchman having carried it off to Cairo! What a Goth! to dismantle this majestic building for the purpose, in a manner more rude than even the Turks themselves! We, however, saw the spot where—alas! that I should say—it *had* been. C—— observed that the figures in the temple closely resembled those he had seen in India; and in fact it was here that the sepoy, when brought into Egypt, prostrated themselves in adoration, thinking they saw their own deities before them, which proves there is a strong affinity between the worship of the ancient Egyptians and that of the modern Hindoos."—*Narrative of a Journey Overland from England to India*, vol. i. p. 213.

It is generally known that the zodiac, the removal of which occasioned so much indignation to this lady, has been some time in Paris. The rivalry which animates the tourists and philosophers of France and England threatens to inflict upon the interesting remains of Egyptian art a greater injury than they have sustained from the ravages of two thousand years, and from the assaults of all the barbarian conquerors who have possessed the country, from Nebuchadnezzar to Mohammed Ali.

CHAP. VI. and the variety of its ornaments, had such an effect on him that he seated himself on the ground, and for a considerable time was lost in admiration.

Opinions as to the age of the ruins.

The monuments of Tentyra, it is generally admitted, do not possess that high degree of antiquity which belongs to the buildings of Thebes. As a proof of this, it is mentioned that the basis of the large temple in the former place stands upon a terrace which is still fifteen feet above the level of the neighbouring country ; while similar terraces at Thebes are only on a level with the surface of the Nile, above which they were, beyond a doubt, once greatly elevated. Visconti therefore, and after him Belzoni, inferred that the temple at Dendera was not older than the time of the Ptolemies, or perhaps that of the Romans ; but Jollois, on the contrary, expresses his firm conviction that, from the style of the sculptures, they cannot have been executed since the invasion of Cambyses, and were probably at least as old as the tomb of Psammis, who lived in the days of Josiah, king of Judah.

Misapplication of argument.

It is obvious, when we reflect that Tentyra was built at a considerable distance from the river, the argument drawn from the elevation of the soil, occasioned by the annual flood, does not apply to the question at issue ; while the inscriptions found on many of the ancient monuments of Egypt cannot be understood in any other sense than as a re-dedication of the fabric to a popular monarch,—a practice sanctioned by the usage of all ages. But, on other accounts, we concur in the views of Belzoni with regard to the date of the principal edifices.*

Accuracy of Belzoni's views.

* As every notice respecting Dendera must be interesting to the classical reader, we subjoin a brief account of it given by one of the latest travellers in Egypt :—“ Traversing an embankment against the river, we arrived at a noble portico or entrance, near which are the remains of a village and fragments of pottery scattered about. This portico stands alone in a plain, is of great solidity and strength and is covered with hieroglyphs. It is in such a fine state of preservation that it can scarcely be called a ruin. Up to the level o the floor where you enter, the edifice is much choked with rubbish ; but one large stone only obstructs the entrance, without, however,

Leaving Dendera, we proceed to Thebes, the remains CHAP. VI.
 of which, though not possessed of greater elegance and
 beauty, are usually regarded with a larger share of interest. The vast extent of the ruins is itself a subject of profound attention. The ancient city extended from the ridge of mountains which skirt the Arabian Desert to the similar elevation which bounds the valley of the Nile on the west, being in circumference not less than twenty-seven miles. But its actual situation may perhaps be more successfully represented to the fancy by the descriptions of those who have recently examined it, and whose first impressions, though recorded in language which may seem inflated, supply, it is probable, a faithful picture of the manifest desolation for which alone it is now celebrated. The following paragraph, extracted from the work of Denon, the author already mentioned, is sufficiently striking :—

“ At nine o’clock, in making a sharp turn round a Description
 projecting point, we discovered all at once the site of the by Denon.
 ancient Thebes in its whole extent. This celebrated city, the size of which Homer has characterized with the single expression of the *hundred-gated*,—a boasting and poetical phrase which has been repeated with so much confidence for so many centuries ;—this illustrious city, described in a few pages dictated to Herodotus by

preventing your riding through. Farther on stands the temple, which being situated in a hollow, appeared at a distance to be not very extensive ; but upon my close approach, it astonished and delighted me with its vast and magnificent appearance. Its numerous noble columns all meet the eye at once. I then visited the adjoining chamber, and ascending, with lights in my hand, a mound of dust and rubbish which entirely chokes it up, I found myself to my surprise near the ceiling, where the columns are of different architecture. I descended into a much smaller chamber, having two hundred columns, but covered with hieroglyphs ; and at the end of this was the entrance to a third, upon putting our lights into which, multitudes of bats flew out. In returning we passed through other passages to more apartments, all tenanted by bats. It was from the ceiling of one of the inner apartments of this temple that the French took the beautiful zodiac, once so much talked of. Near this temple are two others, inhabited by bats, pigeons, and owls.”—*Madox’s Excursions*, vol. i. p. 273.

Thebes.

Immense extent of the city.

CHAP. VI. Egyptian priests, that have since been copied by every historian,—celebrated by the number of its kings, whose wisdom had raised them to the rank of gods,—by laws which have been revered without being promulgated,—by science, involved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions,—the first monuments of ancient learning which are still spared by the hand of time ;—this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert from which it had been drawn forth,—enveloped in the veil of mystery and the obscurity of ages, whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the imagination,—still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms that the whole army, suddenly and with one accord, stood in amazement at the sight of its scattered ruins, and clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Egypt, were accomplished and secured by taking possession of the splendid remains of this ancient metropolis.”*

Description
by Mrs. C.
Lushington.

Another traveller, less enthusiastic than Denon, describes the effect of a first sight in the following terms :— “ While I was leisurely travelling along, thinking only of our arrival at Luxor, one of the party who had preceded us called to me from a rising ground to turn to the left ; and having gone a few yards off the road, I beheld unexpectedly the temple of Karnac. It was long after I reached my tent ere I recovered from the bewilderment into which the view of these stupendous ruins had thrown me. No one who has not seen them can understand the awe and admiration they excite even in unscientific beholders. When I compare the descriptions of Denon and Hamilton, I find them essentially correct, yet without giving me any adequate idea of the glorious reality. They fail in describing what has never been, and which, I think, never can be described. No words can impart a conception of the profusion of pillars, standing, prostrate, inclining against each other, broken

Accuracy
of former
descriptions.

* Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, vol. i. p. 3.

and whole. Stones of a gigantic size propped up by CHAP. VI. pillars, and pillars again resting upon stones which appear ready to crush the gazer under their sudden fall ; yet, on a second view, he is convinced that nothing but an earthquake could move them ; all these pillars, covered with sculpture, perhaps three thousand years old, though fresh as if finished but yesterday,—not of grotesque and hideous objects, such as we are accustomed to associate with ideas of Egyptian mythology, but many of the figures of gods, warriors, and horses much larger than life, yet exhibiting surpassing beauty and grace.”*

Their
inadequacy
to convey
correct
impressions.

The modern Egyptians, either with the view of obtaining materials at little expense of labour, or in order that their hovels might be secure from the periodical inundations of the river, are commonly found to have built their villages on the ruins of an ancient temple or palace, even on the very summit of the roof and most elevated part of the walls. Hence the grandeur of Thebes must now be traced in four small towns or hamlets,—Luxor, Karnac, Medinet Abou, and Gornoo. Following the best authorities, which, in this case, are usually the most recent, we proceed to lay before the reader a brief description of the principal buildings which time and barbarism have spared within the precincts of this celebrated capital.

Sites of
modern
villages.

In approaching the temple of Luxor from the north, the first object is a magnificent gateway, which is two hundred feet in length, and the top of it fifty-seven feet above the present level of the soil. In front of the entrance are two of the most perfect obelisks in the world, each consisting of a single block of red granite. They are between seven and eight feet square at the base, and more than eighty feet high ; many of the hieroglyphical figures with which they are covered being an inch and three quarters deep, cut with the greatest nicety and precision. Between these obelisks and the propylon are

* Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe. By Mrs Charles Lushington, p. 61.

CHAP. VI.

Colossal
statues.

Sculptures.

Description
of the details.

two colossal statues, also of red granite ; they are nearly of equal size, but, from the difference of the dress, it is inferred that the one was a male, the other a female figure. Though buried in the ground to the chest, they still measure about twenty-two feet from thence to the top of their mitres.*

On the eastern wing of the northern front of the propylon there is sculptured a very animated description of a remarkable event in the campaigns of some Egyptian conqueror. The disposition of the figures and the execution of the whole picture are equally admirable, and far surpass all ideas that have ever been formed of the state of the arts at the remote era to which they must be attributed. The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their fortress, and the assailants, in the full career of victory, are about to become masters of the citadel.

The commander, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, and advances in a car drawn by two horses. His helmet is adorned with a globe, and has a serpent at each side. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched ; around him are quivers, and at his feet a lion in the act of rushing forward. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are at full gallop,—feathers waving over their heads, and the reins fastened round the body of the conqueror. Beneath the wheels of the car, and under the hoofs and bellies of the horses, are crowds of dead and wounded men. On the side of the enemy are seen horses in full speed with empty cars ; others unmindful of the rein ; and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice into a deep river which washes the walls of the town. The expression here, too, is exceedingly good. Nowhere has the artist shown more skill than in two particular groups

* A view of this propylon or gateway forms the vignette of the present volume.

in one of which the horses, arrived at the verge of the precipice, instantly fall down, while the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, and his whole body trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of his steeds. In the other group the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are hurrying forward the charioteers to inevitable destruction.

Immediately in front of the conqueror are several cars Wat-
in full speed rushing towards the walls of the town ; but
chariots.

even in these the warriors are not beyond the reach of the arrows darted from his unerring bow ; and when wounded they look back on their pursuer as they fall. Further on, more fortunate fugitives are passing the river ; in which are mingled horses, chariots, arms, and men, expressed in the most faithful manner, and represented in all attitudes. Some have already reached the opposite bank, where their friends, who are drawn up in order of battle, but have not courage to engage in fight, drag them to the shore. Others, having escaped by another road, are entering the gates of the town amid the shrieks and lamentations of those within. Towers, ramparts, and battlements are crowded with inhabitants, who are chiefly women, and old men with venerable beards. A party of the latter are seen sallying forth headed by a youth whose splendid dress and high turban mark him out as some distinguished chieftain ; while, on either side of the town, are observed large bodies of infantry, and a great force of chariots issuing from the gates, and advancing apparently by different routes to attack the besiegers.

The ardour with which the hero of the piece is advancing has already carried him far beyond the main body of his own army, and he is there alone, among the slain and wounded who have sunk under his powerful arm. Behind this scene the two lines of the enemy join their strength, and attack in a body the forces of the invaders who move on to meet them. Besides the peculiarity of the incidents represented in this interesting

Flight of
fugitives.

Ardour of the
hero.

CHAP. VI.

Distinction
of costume.

piece of sculpture, there may be traced an evident distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their oriental enemies, whether Indians, Persians, or Bactrians ;—the different forms of the car or chariot,—the native vehicle containing two warriors, the foreign one being loaded with three ; and above all the difference of the arms,—the soldiers of Sesostris having a bow and arrows, while their antagonists vibrate spears or brandish short javelins.

Breaking the
enemy's
ranks.

At one extremity of the western wing of the propylon the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented ; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy, and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and enjoying the barbarous pleasure of beholding eleven of the principal captives tied together in ■ row with a cord about their necks. The foremost stretches out his hands imploring pity ; another is on his knees just going to be put to death by two executioners ; while above them is the vanquished monarch with his arms bound behind him to a car, about to be dragged in triumph before the conqueror.

Treatment of
captives.

In the rear of the throne different captives are suffering death in various ways ; some like the Briareus, the executioner holding them by the hair of the head ; others dragged at the wheels of chariots, or slain by the arrow or the scimitar. Next appears in view the conqueror's camp, round which are placed his treasures, and where his servants are preparing ■ feast to celebrate the victory.

Perhaps no stronger evidence of an indirect nature could be adduced in support of a great historical fact connected with ancient Egypt, than the picture now described. We allude to the victorious career of Sesostris, who is said to have carried war into Asia, where he distinguished his arms by several brilliant conquests. The long robes and head-dress of the enemy place the

Value of
historical
evidence.

scene of action in the East ; the mode of fighting, too, accords with the circumstances of an oriental campaign ; while the result agrees entirely with the narrative which occupies the pages of the Greek authors who have described the exploits of the Egyptian hero.

It was impossible, says Mr Hamilton, “to view and to reflect upon a picture so copious and so detailed as this I have just described, without fancying that we saw here the original of many of Homer’s battles, the portrait of some of the historical narratives of Herodotus, and one of the principal ground-works of the description of Diodorus : And, to complete the gratification, we felt that, had the artist been better acquainted with the rules of perspective, the performance might have done credit to the genius of a Michael Angelo or a Julio Romano. To add to the effect, in front of this wall had been erected a row of colossal figures of granite ; fragments of some of them, still there, sufficiently attest their size, their character, and the exquisite polish of the stone.”

All this magnificence and cost, the reader is aware, are First portico lavished on a gateway. On passing it the traveller enters a ruined portico of very large dimensions ; and from this a double row of seven columns, with lotus capitals, two and twenty feet in circumference, conducts him into a court one hundred and sixty feet long, and one hundred and forty wide, terminated at each side by a similar row of pillars ; beyond which is another portico of Second portico and thirty-two columns, and then the adytum, or interior adytum. part of the building. It is conjectured, with much plausibility, that this is the edifice to which the description of Diodorus applies as the palace or tomb of the great Osymandias ; allowance being made for the embellishments of that author in which he has introduced some of the more striking features that distinguish the larger buildings of Thebes.

Karnac, which is about a mile and a half lower down, is regarded as the principal site of Diospolis, the portion Karnac. of the ancient capital which remained most entire in the

CHAP. VI.

Opinions
entertained
of it.Principal
entrances.Colossal
statues.Avenue of
sphinxes.

Obelisks.

days of Strabo. The temple at the latter place has been pronounced, in respect to its magnitude and the beauty of its several parts, as having no parallel in the whole world. Mr Hamilton admits that, with regard to its general plan, the distribution of the entrances, and the interior of the building, the descriptions of Pococke and Denon are tolerably accurate. But he adds that, without personally inspecting this extraordinary structure, it is impossible to have any adequate notion of its immense size, or of the prodigious masses of which it consists. This edifice has twelve principal entrances, each of which is composed of several propyla and colossal gateways, besides other buildings attached to them, in themselves larger than most other temples. The sides of some of these are equal to the bases of the greater number of the pyramids in Middle Egypt, and are built in the rustic style, each layer of stone projecting a little beyond that which is above it. One of the propyla is entirely of granite, adorned with the most exquisite hieroglyphs. On each side of many of them have been colossal statues of basalt and granite, from twenty to thirty feet in height,—some in the attitude of sitting, others standing erect. The avenues of sphinxes that lead in several directions to the propyla, one of which was continued the whole way across the plain to the temple at Luxor, nearly two miles distant, correspond to the magnificence of the principal structure. The body of the temple, which is preceded by a large court, at whose sides are colonnades of thirty columns in length, and through the middle of which are two rows not less than fifty feet high, consists, first, of a prodigious hall or portico, the roof sustained by 134 pillars, some of which are twenty-six feet in circumference, and others thirty-four. Next appear four beautiful obelisks, marking the entrance to the adytum, near which the monarch is represented as embraced by the arms of Isis. This sanctuary consists of three apartments, entirely of granite. The principal room is in the centre; it is twenty feet long, sixteen wide, and thirteen feet high. Three blocks of granite

form the roof, which is painted with clusters of stars, on a blue ground. The walls are likewise covered with painted sculptures, of a character admirably suited to the mysterious purposes to which the chamber was sometimes devoted.* Beyond this are other porticos and galleries, which have been continued to a third propylon, at the distance of two thousand feet from that at the western extremity of the temple.

This is certainly the building which Diodorus Siculus attempts to describe as the most wonderful and most ancient of the four Temples at Thebes, remarkable for their magnitude and beauty. In enumerating its colossal proportions, he says that it was thirteen stadia—a mile and a half—in circumference; forty-five cubits high; and the walls twenty-four feet thick; adding, that the ornaments, riches, and workmanship which combined to embellish it, corresponded to its vast extent. The above dimensions, however great, are in many instances found to fall short of the truth.†

It were needless, says the author from whose work we have abridged this account, to enumerate with a more minute detail the different apartments, the columns, the colossal statues, the gateways, or the obelisks of this immense edifice. Denon concludes the partial description which he has attempted, by declaring that “one is fatigued with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is stunned with the thought of such a conception. It is hardly possible to believe, after having seen it, in the reality of the existence of so many buildings collected at a single point, in their dimensions, in the resolute perseverance which their construction required, and in the incalculable expenses of so much magnificence. On examining these ruins, the imagination is wearied with the idea of describing them. Of the hundred columns of the porticos alone of this temple, the

CHAP. VI
Decorations
of the ceiling.

Ancient
descriptions.

Immense
variety of
details.

Remarks of
Denon.

* Herodotus, Clio, 182.

† For a view of this palace or temple, the reader is referred to the plate at page 58, where it is described as the work of Osyman-dias or Sesostris, the warlike king of Egypt.

CHAP. VI.

Proportions
of the co-
lumns.

smallest are seven feet and a half in diameter, and the largest twelve. The space occupied by this circumvallation contains lakes and mountains. In short, to be enabled to form a competent idea of so much magnificence, it is necessary that the reader should fancy what is before him to be a dream, as he who views the objects themselves occasionally yields to the doubt whether he be perfectly awake.”*

Dimensions
of the temple.

The dimensions of the great edifice at Karnac are about 1200 feet in length and 420 in width. But the principal fane, grand and imposing as it is, sinks into nothing when compared with the extent and number of the buildings which surround it,—the prodigious gateways of polished granite, covered with sculpture and adorned with colossal statues,—the subordinate temples which anywhere else would be esteemed magnificent piles,—and the avenues, which approach it from almost every point of the compass, miles in length, and guarded by rows of sphinxes, of vast size, cut out of single blocks of syenite. The field of ruins at Karnac is about a mile in diameter. Probably the whole of this space was once, in the prouder days of Thebes, consecrated entirely to the use of the temple. There are traces of walls considerably beyond this, which, we may presume, enclosed the city when at its greatest extent; but after the seat of government was withdrawn, the capital transferred to Memphis, and the trade removed to another mart, the inhabitants narrowed the circle of their defences, and built their houses within the limits of the sacred confines.†

Extent of the
ruins.Additional
remains of
Thebes.

But Luxor and Karnac represent only one-half of ancient Thebes. On the western side of the river there are several structures which, although they may be less

* “On est fatigué d'écrire, on est fatigué de lire, on est épouvanté de la pensée d'une telle conception; on ne peut croire, même après l'avoir vu, à la réalité de l'existence de tant de constructions réunies sur un même point, à leur dimensions, à la constance obstinée qu'a exigée leur fabrication, aux dépenses incalculables de tant de somptuosité.”—Tome ii. p. 226.

† Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 96.

extensive, are equal, if not superior, in their style of CHAP. VI
architecture. We cannot, however, enter upon a de-
scription of the temples at Dair and Medinet Abou. Suffice it to observe that the propylon of the latter is
about 175 feet long, and very richly adorned with the
usual embellishments of sculpture and inscriptions. The
temple itself is in length somewhat more than five hun-
dred feet, while the cella is nearly a hundred and fifty
broad without the walls. The Memnonium, the ruins Memnonium,
of which give a melancholy celebrity to northern Dair,
is still more remarkable, and is perhaps one of the most
ancient in Thebes. This beautiful relic of antiquity
looks towards the east, and is fronted by a stupendous
propylon, of which 234 feet in length are still remaining.
The principal edifice has been about 200 feet broad, and
600 feet long ; containing six courts and chambers, pass-
ing from side to side, with about 160 columns thirty feet
high. All the side-walls have been broken down, and
the materials of which they were composed carried
away ; nothing remaining but a portion of the colon-
nade and the inner chambers, to testify to the traveller
what a noble structure once occupied this interesting
spot.*

There is a circumstance mentioned by a recent vi- Juxta-posi-
siter, which is too important to be overlooked in detail-
tion of the
ing the unrivalled grandeur of ancient Thebes. The
temple at Medinet Abou was so placed as to be exactly
opposite to that of Luxor, on the other side of the Nile ;
while the magnificent structure at Karnac was fronted
by the Memnonium or temple of Dair : And hence all
these grand objects formed so many stages or prominent
points in the religious processions of the priests. Though
the tabernacle of Jupiter dwelt at Karnac, the proper
Diospolis, yet it was carried over the river every year,
and remained ■ few days in Libya ; and we find, from
a general estimate, that there was a space of between

* The dimensions given in the great French work (*Antiquité Planches*, ii. 27, 33), are about 530 feet long and 200 wide.

Temples at
Dair and
Medinet
Abou.

Its destruc-
tion.

CHAP. VI.
Area for processions.

Avenues.

nine and ten miles, over which they might exhibit the pomp and parade of their superstition both going and returning. Almost every part of the road, through this immense theatre, was lined with sphinxes, statues, propyla, and other objects calculated to inflame the ardour of devotion; and, in all the imposing ceremonies of pagan idolatry, it is impossible to conceive any thing more impressive than the view which must have burst upon the sight of the enraptured votaries when, at the close of the solemnity, they entered with their god the grand temple of Karnac, to replace him in his shrine with harps and cymbals, and songs of rejoicing.*

Colossal statues of the Memnonium.

The Memnonium is remarkable for the remains of two immense statues, the head of one of which was conveyed a few years ago to the British Museum. After ascending some steps in the tomb or temple,—for it may be considered as either or both,—the visiter enters a rectangular court, 160 feet wide by 140 in depth, which has had a row of pillars on the right hand and on the left. At the extremity of this court near the entrance into the second, are the fragments of that enormous sitting statue which has properly been described as the largest in Egypt.

Fallen statue. But, besides this huge colossus, there is another mentioned by Norden who travelled in the beginning of the last century. He describes it as “entire, and of a single piece of granite-marble, but its height is only moderate. It is at present thrown down, lying on its face, and half buried in the ground. All that is visible

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 95.

Mr Madox records the impression made on his mind in the following words: “After breakfast, I rode *solas* to that beautiful temple of columns at Karnac, about a mile and a half from Luxor.—I came rather suddenly upon the avenue of sphinxes, which must formerly have had a most superb effect, leading to the entrance of this wonderful edifice. All that surrounded me looked as if built for eternity. The ponderous magnificence struck awe into my soul, as I stood gazing at the stupendous scene before me.”—Vol. i. p. 383.

appears quite free from damage ; and with respect to the attitude, it is the same as that of the other colossi of which I have spoken.”*

The distinction between the two figures in the Memnonium was clearly recognised by Mr Salt in his instructions to Belzoni, who undertook to remove the smaller one. “ It must not,” said the consul, “ be mistaken for another lying in that neighbourhood, which is much mutilated.” But the statue described by Norden, as being entire with its face downwards, was found by the adventurous traveller who went in search of it, with its face upwards and the trunk very much shattered. He would not venture to say who separated the bust from the rest of the body, or by whom its position had been inverted. There was also a hole drilled in the right breast, evidently the work of some modern, and no doubt intended to hold gunpowder, for the purpose of blowing off the right shoulder also, and rendering the removal of the head more easy.

After looking at all the evidence, we may say with a recent author, we have no difficulty in expressing our conviction that this was done by the French when they visited Thebes. They turned the face of the statue upwards, and blew off part of the body, but after all they were compelled, from some cause or other, to leave it behind. It is curious, as Nöhden and Burckhardt remark, that in the drawing of this statue as we see it in the great French work on Egypt, the *right* shoulder is wanting, which would have been the case had they succeeded in blowing it off. The drawing was probably made on the spot, and the figure represented in that condition in which they had expected to send it home. There is, of course, no sign of the great hole in the Memnon’s right shoulder, in the Parisian engraving, as the part that contains it is omitted. If they did *this* damage to the statue, with the view of shattering the right shoulder just like the left, we may readily believe

Salt's
instructions
to Belzoni.

Fracture of
the statue.

Anticipatory
drawing.

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 128.

CHAP. VI.

they went so far as to break the whole in pieces, which, down to the year 1800, was probably as entire as when Norden saw it.*

Removal of
the head to
England.

After much labour, Mr Belzoni, in the year 1815, succeeded in conveying the bust and head of this figure to Alexandria, whence it was shipped for England. The material of which it is composed is a peculiar kind of granite, known by the name of syenite, of one entire mass but two distinct colours. With great judgment the head was formed out of the red part of the block, while the dark part was appropriated to the breast and probably to the rest of the body. The figure must have been originally placed in a sitting posture, like most of the Egyptian colossal statues, for it was found "near the remains of its body and chair." Its height from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, in its seated position, appears to have been about twenty-four feet; for the fragment in the Museum, which may be about one-third of the whole, is somewhat more than eight from the summit of the head-dress to the lowest part of the bust. The weight of the mass is estimated at between ten and twelve tons.

Its estimation
as a work of
art.

It is universally agreed that this is one of the finest specimens of colossal sculpture now known to exist, and presents a striking example of the high attainments of the Egyptian artists in this branch of their professional pursuits. The working of so hard and unwieldy a mass of stone into any resemblance of the human form, and the conferring on it so high a degree of polish, would of itself have been an achievement worthy of the greatest admiration. But that the proportion of the parts should have been so well preserved, and that beauty should have been impressed on this immense face, proves that at least some kinds of sculpture were once carried to a high degree of perfection in Egypt, though they may not be of that description of art which our earliest asso-

Fine propor-
tions.

* Library of Entertaining Knowledge. British Museum, vol. i. p. 243. Nöhden Ueber das sogennante Memnon's-Bild, &c.

ciations have taught us to admire. In the statues of CHAP. VI.
that country, calmness and repose are the most striking characteristics ; but this figure shows somewhat more. It represents a young man ; the breast is broad and well-defined ; and the beard united in one mass adheres to the chin. The line of the eyebrows, perhaps, does not project enough above the eyeball ; the tip of the nose, also, may appear too much rounded ; and the ears, as is usual in Egyptian heads, are placed too high ; but even with these defects, and with lips too thick for our notions, the face is full of softness, tranquillity, and beauty.*

The figure now described is known by the name of the younger Memnon, partly because it was found in Name of the statue. that temple to which the title of Memnonium is applied by modern writers, partly also because it belongs to that class of statues with which the memory of the celebrated monarch is associated. But the other, the remains of which are still seen within the precincts of the same court, is of much larger dimensions. It is composed of red granite, is broken off at the waist, and the upper part is lying on the back. The face is entirely obliterated by the hand of man ; and to the same cause must be ascribed the general destruction of which it has become the victim. The foot which remains entire measures 6 feet 10 inches across ; the breadth between the shoulders is 26 feet ; and the circumference of the chest is about 63 feet. The hieroglyphical characters engraved on the arm are large enough for a man to walk in ; the length of the nail of the second toe is about one foot ; and the length of the toe to the insertion of the nail is one foot eleven inches. In its fall it has carried along with it the whole of the temple wall within its reach.†

Superior expression.

Destruction of the larger statue.

Gigantic dimensions.

* Description de l'Egypte, tome 1. p. 129. British Museum, vol. i. p. 253.

† There is in the British Museum a huge fist of red granite, imagined by some to belong to the statue described above, though the evidence for this fact is by no means satisfactory. The French, by

CHAP. VI.

Statues near
Medinet
Abou.

Comparison
of the pair of
statues.

Ornaments.

Small statuettes
attached.

This colossus has sometimes been confounded with another which also bears the name of Memnon, and has been long celebrated for its vocal qualities. This last, however, is one of the two statues vulgarly called Shamy and Damy, which stand at a little distance from Medinet Abou, in the direction of the Nile. These, we are told, are nearly equal in magnitude, being about 52 feet in height. The thrones on which they respectively rest are thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and between seven and eight feet high. They are placed about forty feet asunder; are in a line with each other; and look towards the east, directly opposite to the temple of Luxor. If there be any difference of size, the southern one is the smaller. It appears to be of one entire stone, but the face, arms, and front of the body, have suffered so much from studied violence that not a feature of the countenance remains. The head-dress is beautifully wrought, as also the shoulders, which, with the back, continue quite uninjured. The massy hair projects from behind the ears like that of the Sphinx. The sides of the throne are highly ornamented with the elegant device of two bearded figures tying the stem of the flexible lotus round the ligula. This colossus is in a sitting posture, with the hands resting upon the knees. On the outside of each of the limbs there is a small statue, with spiked crowns on their heads, and the arms down by the side. They stand up in front of the pedestal, and reach nearly to the knee. The legs of the great statue are divided, and between the feet there is another diminutive figure whose head does not rise higher than the two just described.

whom it was surrendered to the British, say that they obtained it among the ruins of Memphis, where there are still the remains of a colossus large enough to match with this relic. The dimensions of the fist are as follows :

	Inches.
Circumference of wrist-bone,.....	80
Length from wrist-joint to knuckle of middle finger,.....	32
Length of long joint of middle finger,.....	26
Width of all the four fingers,.....	30 $\frac{1}{2}$
— of middle finger,.....	9

The other statue, which stands on the north side, appears to be that of the vocal Memnon. It presents the same attitude as its companion, with a similar figure between the feet and on each side of the legs. It has, however, been broken over at the waist,—an effect which was reported to Strabo to have been produced by an earthquake. In his time the head, with the disrupted half of the body, lay on the ground ; the other half remaining in the original position which it still occupies. The part that had been broken off is now carried away, and the figure is again completed by courses of common sandstone, forming the back, neck, and head. It is entirely fashioned like the upper part of the other, having several hieroglyphs and other emblems carved between the shoulders ; but, as the stone is not susceptible of such elegant workmanship, no attempt has been made to imitate the drapery which adorns its more fortunate neighbour. Upon that portion of the celebrated statue which still remains, or rather upon the side of the throne, the ornament of the two bearded figures tying the lotus round the stalk of the ligula, with the accompanying sculptures, are as fresh and distinct as on the other. The drapery, too, as far as can now be determined, must have been originally the same in both.

But, says a traveller to whom reference has been repeatedly made, “what characterizes this as the statue of vocal celebrity are the numerous inscriptions, both in Greek and Latin, in verse and prose, with which it is covered ; all of them attesting that the writers had heard the heavenly voice of Memnon at the first dawn of day,—feeble indeed at first, but afterwards becoming strong and powerful like a trumpet. We searched with eagerness for the name of the illustrious geographer quoted above ; but, if ever it was there, it is now among the many illegibles that no human eye can decipher. Julia Romilla, Cecilia Treboulla, Pulitha Balbima, and many others, attest that they heard the voice of the Memnon, when along with the Emperor Adrian and his royal consort Sabina, whom they seem to have ac-

CHAP. VL

The vocal
Memnon.Injury and
restoration.Ornaments of
the older
portions.Evidences of
its being the
vocal statue.Inscriptions
on the statue.

CHAP. VI.

companied in their tour throughout the country. One person writes,—I hear (audio) the Memnon ; and another person,—I heard the Memnon, sitting in Thebes opposite to Diospolis.”*

Material of
the statue.

We know not whether the fact now mentioned will receive any explanation from the circumstance that the material of which the statues are composed is a quartzy sandstone, highly crystallized, and containing a considerable portion of iron. When struck it gives a metallic ring,—the kind of sound which used to be attributed to the Memnon. It is singular, at all events, that the belief of its former vocality still lingers in the tradition of the country, for the Arabs continue to call it Salamat, or the statue that bids good morning.†

Arab tradit.
tion.Remains of
other figures.

It is evident that these statues stand on either side of an avenue leading to a place of worship, and that they were followed by a series of other colossal figures, the remains of some of which are still visible. The temple, whose approach they were appointed to guard, was uncovered by Mr Salt, who at the same time brought to light a number of sphinxes, with the lion’s head on the body of a woman, and, in short, traced the foundation and columns of a most magnificent building. Belzoni, in like manner, disinterred a handsome statue of

* Richardson’s Travels, vol. ii. p. 41.—“ Norden and Pococke, we believe, were the first who copied any of the inscriptions on the Memnon’s legs, of which Pococke has given two plates. Mr Hamilton, in his *Egyptiaca*, has also given those inscriptions which are the most legible ; and since that time Mr Salt, the late consul at Alexandria, has made a still more complete collection. His copies of these inscriptions, to the number of seventy-two, were transmitted to the Royal Society of Literature.

IMP. DOMITIANO
CAESARE AUGUSTO GERMANICO
T. PETRONIUS SECUNDUS. PR
AUDIT MEMNONEM HORAI PR IDUS MART.

“ This inscription records the testimony of T. Petronius, in the reign of Domitian, to the vocal sound that issued from the northernmost of the two statues at sunrise.”—*British Museum*, vol. i. p. 97.

† *Idem*, p. 43.

black granite, which is now within the precincts of the British Museum,—affording additional evidence that the Memnon had belonged to an establishment not inferior, perhaps, even to the sublime structures of Luxor and Karnac. On this ground we are disposed to adopt the opinion of the writer whom we have just quoted, who thinks that the ruined temple now mentioned ought to be regarded as the proper Memnonium, and not the edifice which contains the statue of Osymandias.*

The neighbourhood of Thebes presents another subject worthy of attention, and quite characteristic of an Egyptian capital,—the Necropolis, or City of the Dead. Proceeding on the idea that the human being only sojourns for a time in the land of the living, but that the tomb is his permanent dwelling-place, the inhabitants of this magnificent metropolis lavished much of their wealth and taste on the decoration of their sepulchres. The mountains on the western side of Thebes have been Rock tombs nearly hollowed out in order to supply tombs for the inhabitants; while an adjoining valley, remarkable for its solitary and gloomy aspect, appears to have been selected by persons of rank as the receptacle of their mortal remains. The darkest recesses of these pits and chambers have been repeatedly explored by travellers in search of such antiquities as might illustrate the ancient manners of the people, as well as by those mercenary dealers in mummies, who make a trade of human bones, coffins, and funeral lining.

To give an idea of the magnificence lavished by the Egyptians on their burial-places, it will be enough to describe the immense vaults discovered by Belzoni, who, in excavating for curiosities, possessed a tact or instinct similar to that which leads the mineral engineer to the richest veins of the precious metals. He fixed upon a spot at the bottom of a precipice, over which, when there happens to be rain in the desert, a torrent rushes

CHAP. VI.

Statue in the
British
Museum.Necropolis of
Thebes.

* The statue disinterred by Mr Belzoni is that numbered 38 in the Catalogue of the British Museum.

CHAP. VI.

Ancient tomb. with great fury ; and, after no small degree of labour, he reached the entrance of a large and very splendid tomb. This hall, which is extremely beautiful, is twenty-seven feet long and twenty-five broad ; the roof being supported by pillars fully four feet square. At the end of it is a large door which opens into another chamber twenty-eight feet by twenty-five, having the walls covered with figures, which, though only drawn in outline, are so perfect that one would think they had been done only the day before. Returning into the entrance-hall, he observed a large staircase descending into a passage. It is thirteen feet long, seven and a half in width, and has eighteen steps, leading at the bottom to a beautiful corridor of large dimensions. He remarked that the paintings became more perfect the farther he advanced into the interior, retaining their gloss or a kind of varnish laid over the colours, which had a beautiful effect, being usually executed on a white ground. At the end of this splendid passage he descended by ten steps into another equally superb ; from which he entered into an apartment twenty-four feet by thirteen, and so elegantly adorned with sculptures and paintings that he called it the Room of Beauty. When standing in the centre of this chamber, the traveller is surrounded by an assembly of Egyptian gods and goddesses,—the leading personages of the Pantheon,—whose presence was thought to honour, or perhaps to protect, the remains of the mighty dead.

Room of Beauty.

Hall of pillars

Room of Isis.

Proceeding farther he entered a large hall twenty-eight feet long, and twenty-seven broad ; in which are two rows of square pillars, three on each side of the entrance, forming a line with the corridors. At either side of this apartment, which he termed the Hall of Pillars, is a small chamber ; the one on the right is ten feet by nine ; that on the left ten feet five inches by eight feet nine inches. The former of these, having in it the figure of a cow painted, he called the Room of Isis ; the latter, from the various emblematical drawings which it exhibits, was denominated the Room of Mys-

teries. At the end of the hall is the entry to a large CHAP. VL
saloon with an arched roof or ceiling, and extending Room of
thirty-two feet in length by a breadth of twenty-seven. mysteries.
On the right of the saloon is a small chamber without
any thing in it, roughly cut as if unfinished, and desti-
tute of painting ; on the left is an apartment with two
square pillars, twenty-five feet eight inches by twenty-
two feet ten inches. These columns are three feet four
inches square, and beautifully painted like the rest. At
the same end of the room, and facing the Hall of Pillars, Room of
he found another chamber forty-three feet long by seven-
teen feet six inches broad, and adorned with a variety of
columns. It is covered with white plaster where the
rock did not cut smoothly, but there is no painting in
it ; and as Mr Belzoni discovered in it the carcass of a
bull embalmed with asphaltum, he distinguished it by
the appellation of the Room of Apis. There were also Mumm:
seen, scattered in various places, an immense number of figures.
small wooden figures of mummies six or eight inches
long, and covered with mineral oil to preserve them.
There were some other figures of fine earth baked,
coloured blue, and strongly varnished ; while on each
side of the two little rooms were wooden statues stand-
ing erect, with a circular hollow inside, as if to contain
a roll of papyrus.

“ But,” says he, “ the description of what we found
in the centre of the saloon, and which I have reserved
till this place, merits the most particular attention, not
having its equal in the world, and being such as we had
no idea could exist. It is a sarcophagus of the finest
oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches long, and three
feet seven inches wide. The thickness is only two
inches ; and it is transparent when a light is placed in
the inside of it. It is minutely sculptured within and
without with several hundred figures, which do not ex-
ceed two inches in height, and represent, as I suppose,
the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies re-
lating to the deceased. I cannot give an adequate idea
of this beautiful and invaluable piece of antiquity, and

CHAP. VI. can only say that nothing has been brought into Europe from Egypt that can be compared with it. The cover was not there ; it had been taken out and broken into several pieces, which we found in digging before the first entrance.”*

Concealed staircase.

Pains taken to conceal the entrance.

Former entrants.

Pictorial decorations.

The sarcophagus was placed over a staircase in the centre of the saloon, communicating with a subterraneous passage three hundred feet in length, which seemed to proceed through the very heart of the mountain. Hence, there is reason to believe that there must originally have been two entrances to the tomb, one of which was closed at the time when the sarcophagus was lodged in it ; for not only was this communication obstructed by means of a wall, but several large stones were inserted in the pavement of the saloon, to prevent any one from perceiving either the stair or the passage to which it leads. In short, great pains had been taken to conceal the chamber in which the royal corpse was deposited. The staircase of the entrance-hall was built up at the bottom, and the intervening space filled with rubbish ; while the floor was covered with large blocks of stone, so as to deceive such individuals as might happen to force a passage through the wall, and make them suppose that the tomb ended at the second apartment. The persons who had been previously in the sepulchre, and destroyed the cover of the sarcophagus, must have possessed a complete acquaintance with the plan and structure of that mysterious palace ; for, at their departure, they had used such precautions against a second discovery, that no degree of sagacity less than the share which had fallen to Belzoni could have defeated their object.

The walls of nearly all the apartments are decorated with superb paintings and sculptures which we cannot undertake to describe at length. But, for a reason which

* Belzoni’s Narrative of Operations, &c. vol. i. p. 365. Dr Clarke pronounced the stone of which the sarcophagus is composed to be of a rare and much more valuable species than alabaster. A model of this splendid tomb was afterwards exhibited in London containing the real sarcophagus.

will immediately appear, we must not pass over one CHAP. VI.
 wherein is represented a military procession, consisting Military
 of a great number of figures all looking towards a man procession.
 who is much superior to them in size. At the close of
 this pageant are three different sorts of people, from as
 many nations, evidently Jews, Ethiopians, and Persians.
 Behind them are some Egyptians without their orna-
 ments, as if they were captives rescued and returning to
 their own country, followed by a hawk-headed figure,
 supposed to be their protecting deity.

By the application of his principle for explaining Interesting
 phonetic hieroglyphics, Dr Young discovered among the discovery of
 drawings, copied from this tomb, the names of Necho Dr Young.
 and Psammis, kings of Egypt, who reigned towards the
 end of the seventh century before the Christian era.
 Now, it is universally known that Pharaoh Necho con-
 quered Jerusalem and Babylon, and that his son Psam-
 mis or Psammuthis, as he is sometimes called, made war
 against the Ethiopians. Hence, we are provided with
 the means of understanding the object as well as the
 constituent parts of the procession described by Belzoni.
 The natives of three different countries are distinctly Jewish
 recognised. The Jews are readily distinguished by their captives.
 physiognomy and complexion ; the Ethiopians by their
 colour and ornaments ; and the Persians by their char-
 acteristic dress, as they are so often seen engaged in
 battle with the Egyptians.*

There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the age of Date of the
 this splendid monument of Egyptian art ; for the two tomb.
 Pharaohs whom it commemorates, and by the latter of
 whom it was probably erected, swayed the sceptre nearly
 two thousand five hundred years ago. What were the
 Greeks and Romans at that period ? They were barba-
 rians in the strictest sense of the word, or only begin-
 ning to emerge from the rudest condition in which
 mankind are found to cultivate the relations of social

* Dr Richardson, vol. i. p. 281, differs from Belzoni as to the figures in the procession, but without any attempt to oppose the explanation of Dr Young, or to call in question the antiquity of the tomb.

CHAP. VI. life. Many of the sepulchral chambers of Thebes are
 Older sepulchral chambers.

"The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
 That spread her conquest o'er a thousand states,
 And pour'd her heroes through a hundred gates ;
 Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars
 From each wide portal issued to the wars." POPE.

Descriptions of Gornoo.

Every traveller, from Bruce down to the latest tourist who has trodden in his steps, luxuriates in the description of Gornoo with its excavated mountains, and dwells with minute anxiety on the ornaments which at once decorate the superb mausoleums of the Beban el Melouk, and record the early progress of Egyptian science. It is lamentable, however, to find that, in the great work published under the auspices of the French government, the representations, in point of colouring at least, are extremely inaccurate. In the Harp Tomb, for example, the drawings of which were very accurately copied by the historian of Abyssinia and his secretary Balugani, there is a priest performing, who is dressed in a long white robe spotted or striped with red. The French artists have arrayed him in a flowing mantle of the deepest black with white stripes. The gentleman, too, who is seated on a chair at a little distance listening to the music, and habited in a short loose garment falling about half-way down the thighs, the rest of the limbs and arms being bare, the Savans have attired in a pair of blue pantaloons after the Parisian fashion, and in a waist-coat of the same colour. The head-dress, moreover, which in the original reaches up to the ceiling, they have curtailed into a small bonnet, bearing a striking resemblance to the cap of liberty. In this way they have given to the group a sort of general resemblance, while in the detail the representation is as unlike as possible. They have made that blue which should be red, black which should be white, yellow which should be green, and short which should be long.*

Harp Tomb.

Inaccurate copies of the decorations.

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 4.

The names of Jollois and Devilliers are affixed to the large prints of the tomb just mentioned, as vouchers for their accuracy ; but there is too much reason to suspect that the labour of colouring the engravings, like the task of writing the dissertations on the antiquities of Egypt, was left to the ingenuity of artists at Paris, who had no other guide than an indistinct description. As a farther proof of this, we may mention that the painting in the ruins of the Memnonium, which represents the storming of a fort, was copied by Major Hayes, as well as by the French academicians, and that the men, who have a sort of petticoat drapery in the one, are naked in the other ; our neighbours preferring what appeared to them the more picturesque representation, without paying any regard to the truth of monuments.*

Authors of
the drawings

Other inaccuracies.

When examining the tomb discovered by Belzoni, a subsequent traveller, after observing that the colours are remarkably vivid, and that the painting has not suffered either from time or human violence, adds, " It is impossible adequately to describe the sensations of delight and astonishment which by turns took possession of our minds as we moved along the corridor, and examined the different groups and hieroglyphics that occur in every successive chamber. We had been told that what we saw was a tomb ; but it required a constant effort of the mind to convince us that it was such. Only one sarcophagus in one chamber, and twelve chambers, exclusive of the long corridor, all highly ornamented, for nothing ! It may have been a subterraneous temple, exhibiting the religious creed of the worshippers, or the rites of initiation. It may have been a subterranean palace, like

Impressions
on visiting
the Belzoni
tomb.

Number and
variety of
chambers.

* Dr Richardson, vol. ii. p. 5, remarks, that after so many misrepresentations in the work of the Wise-men,—the French Savans,—it will not be difficult to decide whose names should precede the verb, in the very courtly inscription, " Bruce est un menteur ;" and whether we might not with some degree of propriety address them, considered as a single body, in the words of the Roman bard,

" Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur."

CHAP. VI. those of the king of the Troglodytes. But never was there such a superfluous waste, if we are to suppose that all this was done merely for the reception of one sarcophagus." Perhaps, like the chambers of imagery seen by the Jewish prophet, they were the scene of idolatrous rites performed in the dark,—an opinion which has received the countenance of Mr Jowett, who says that the tombs of the Beban el Melouk cannot be better described than in the words of Ezekiel: "Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and, when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do there. So I went in and saw; and, behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about." In this, as in some other cases, the Hebrews were but imitators; the originals were in Egypt, and are still to be seen in almost all the sepulchres or temples under ground.*

Discreditable operations of curiosity hunters.

Arab spoilers.

Offensive exposure.

We cannot leave these ancient tombs without expressing our regret that the rage for discovery in the mansions of the dead should have led to consequences so little creditable to European delicacy. The mummies have been drawn from their recesses with a rapacious and unsparing hand. The chief part of this havock, no doubt, has been committed by the Arabs, who tear the bodies open to get at the rosin, or asphaltum, used in the embalming, which they sell at Cairo to great advantage; but travellers and their agents have also had their share in this sacrilege, as it may be justly called. It is, we are informed, a sad and disgusting sight; the sands and the edges of the graves in some parts being strewed with bones, and even pieces of flesh thrown wantonly about. The poor Egyptians, who had slept in peace some thousands of years, have been mercilessly dealt with here, and the remains of warriors, citizens, and sages, now lie mingled together beneath the burning sun;

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 78. Jowett's Christian Researches.



VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF HERMON OR HERMONTHOS.
Page 230.

for no retreat or sanctuary has been suffered to remain CHAP. VI.
inviolate.*

Sir F. Henniker made a similar complaint. He tells us that the plain is strewed with broken bones, and that the coffins are used for firewood. The trouble that the Egyptians took to preserve their bodies causes their destruction, and "the race of Nilus barters for their kings." I was standing by, he adds, when the resurrection-men found a sepulchre ; "they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas." It proved to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered ; including three chambers, with fourteen coffins, in each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches, which fell to atoms at the touch. The whole of the ancient Thebes is the private property of the French and English consuls ; a line of demarcation is drawn through every temple, and these buildings, which have hitherto withstood the attacks of barbarians, will not long resist the speculation of civilized cupidity, directed by philosophers and antiquaries.†

Sir F. Henniker's remarks.

Greco-Egyptian tomb.

Ascending the Nile, the traveller finds that the valley which had contracted above Thebes to very narrow limits, begins once more to widen, and the adjoining hills to retire. In a recess, about a mile from the river, stands the village of Herment, on the ruins of a city to which the Greeks gave the name of Hermonthis. A temple of moderate dimensions, but peculiar in its plan, and distinguished only by the beauty of its columns and sculptures, is still remaining. There is no trace of a propylon ; but the walls of the pronaos are standing, though in many places much dilapidated. The cella is pretty entire, and covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics ; for a description of which we must refer the reader to the authentic pages of Travels along the Mediterranean. We are assured that these works are well executed, and indicate a more ancient date than most of

Higher parts
of the Nile
valley.

Hermonthis.

* Letters from the East, vol. i. p. 157.

† Notes during a Visit to Egypt, &c. p. 137.

CHAP. VI. the temples in Egypt ; and yet as stones ornamented are found here placed in an inverted position, there is ground for a reasonable conjecture that they had been brought from the ruins of edifices still older than the one in which they are now incorporated.

Traces of older works. Esneh.

Its portico.

Devices on the ceiling

Remains of other buildings.

Grottos of Eleithias.

Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, is the next place which invites the attention of the scientific tourist. It is worthy of notice chiefly on account of a temple, the portico of which has been pronounced by Denon to be the purest fragment of Egyptian architecture, and one of the most perfect monuments of antiquity. It consists of eight columns with broad capitals, differing from each other in the ornament that they bear ; in one it is the vine, in another the ivy, in a third the palm-leaf. The parts behind the portico are trivial and negligent so far as their decorations are concerned. The sanctuary is totally destroyed ; but, from what remains of the outer wall, there seems to have been an exterior gallery quite round the temple. The pronaos has still twenty-four columns, six rows with four in each. Various devices, resembling those at Dendera, appear on the ceiling between the columns ; and in the space which separates the last row from the wall on each side, are represented the twelve signs of the zodiac, or perhaps certain astrological emblems denoting the influence of the heavenly bodies. The vicinity of Esneh, on both sides of the river, exhibits the remains of many buildings of which the history and the object have been long concealed in that darkness which still hangs over the former condition of Upper Egypt. Vestiges of primeval paganism can be detected, mingled with the more recent institutions of Christianity, but both now so much defaced by the ravages of civil war that the most diligent research fails to be rewarded with any adequate degree of success.

The grottos of Eleithias, a town somewhat farther south and on the eastern side of the Nile, are extremely interesting, inasmuch as they represent, in the paintings with which the walls are decorated, many of the pursuits and habits that illustrate the private life of the

ancient Egyptians. In this respect they are more important than even the splendid sepulchres of Thebes ; the ornaments in the latter being confined to the higher Value of their decorations. ceremonies of religion, or to the shadowing forth of those physical mysteries to which their pious rites are supposed to have had an immediate reference.

The great French work, and the less pretending volume of Mr Hamilton, supply a very particular description of the works of art at Eleithias. In the largest of the grottos visited by our countryman, there are three statues the size of life, representing a wealthy rustic with his two wives. One side of the wall is occupied with the picture of a feast, at which the master and mistress are seated together on a chair, richly dressed,—a favourite monkey at their feet is regaling itself on a basket of grapes. A servant, part of whose livery is the skin of a leopard, appears to introduce the guests, who are sitting in rows, both men and women, each with a lotus in the hand. To some of these the attendants are presenting bowls and dishes, according to the usage which still prevails in many parts of the East. Behind the visitors are tables covered with sundry kinds of food ; while the banquet is enlivened by the presence of musicians and dancers. One woman is playing on a harp ; another on a double flute ; three others are dancing in the style of those females known at Cairo under the name of Almeh ; and a small figure, apart, is performing similar motions with a sword in each hand. The master is then represented walking, attended by his servants, who, among other things, are carrying a chair, a water-jar, and a mat, to visit his labourers at work : And accordingly the artist has here depicted the mode of hoeing, ploughing, sowing, and rolling ; of reaping the corn, and gathering it in ; of winnowing the grain, and the carriage of it to the granary ; and, finally, the embarkation of bread or biscuit on board the djerms. The farm-yard is next seen crowded with oxen, cows, sheep, goats, asses, mules, and other animals. Again, we see the vintage and the vintage method of making wine ; after which, the mode of catch-

CHAP. VI.

their decorations.

A feast.

Musicians
and dancers.Agricultural
operations.

Vintage.

CHAP. VI. ing and salting fish and water-fowl. Finally, fruits are presented to the master and his friends, and the whole concludes with offerings of gratitude to the gods.

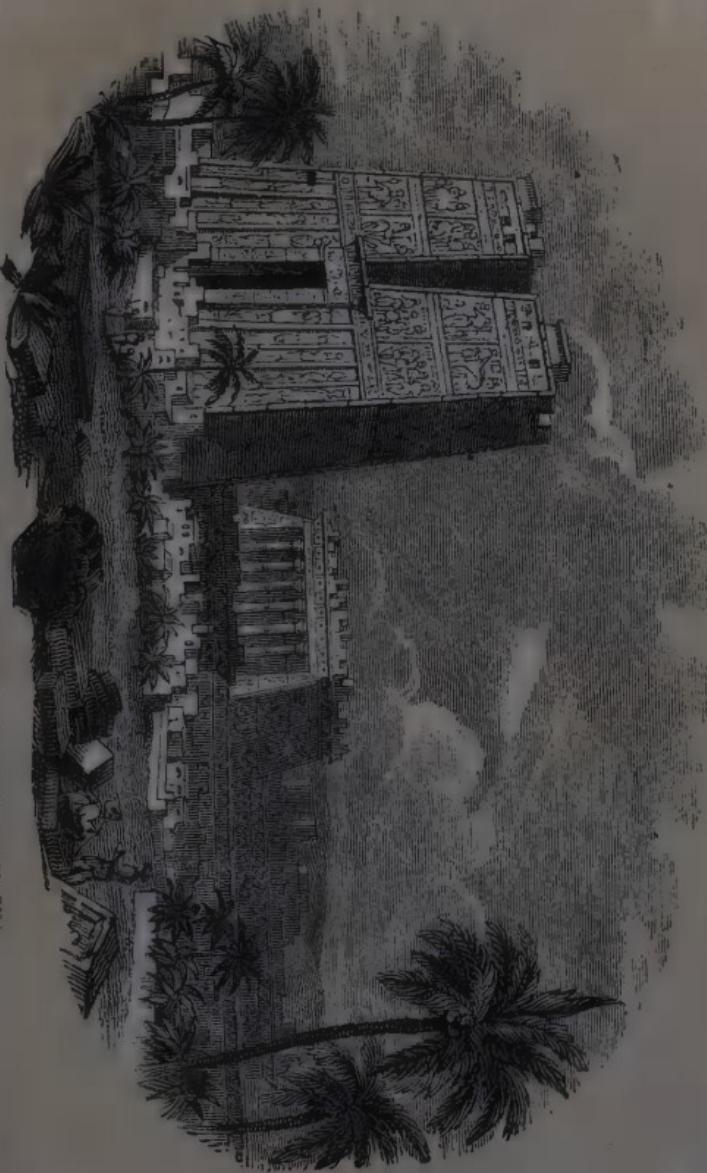
Flax harvest. In another part of the scene is the flax-harvest. The whole process of pulling the crop up by the roots, of carrying it away in small bundles and combing it, is very ingeniously represented. It may be observed that the complexion of the men is invariably red, that of the women yellow ; but neither of them can be said to have any thing in their physiognomy at all resembling the negro countenance. The labourers are dressed in a sort of skullcap, and in short close drawers, having very little hair on their heads ; while the locks of the others who appear to superintend them spread out at the sides, after the fashion of the Nubians and Berberi above the Cataracts.

Ship building and sailing. Next follow representations of ship-building and sailing, with all the machinery which belonged to their simple navigation. Nor are the amusements of the fowler forgotten, which seem to have consisted in the use of a net and a variety of other snares. The bow and arrow appear to have been also employed. The scene, after embracing a great number of occupations or pastimes, to which we cannot make a more particular allusion, closes with a funeral procession, into which all the pageantry and magnificence of Egyptian ceremonial are introduced, accompanied with the several emblems which were employed of old to denote the duties of this life and the hopes of the next.*

Edfou. Leaving the instructive grottos of Eleithias, we proceed to Edfou, the Apollinopolis Magna of the Greeks, which presents several architectural remains worthy of notice. There are two temples in a state of great preservation ; one of them consisting of high pyramidal propyla, ■ pronaos, portico, and sekos, the form most generally used in Egypt ; the other is peripteral, and is at the same time distinguished by having, on its several

Two temples.

* *Egyptiaca*, p. 92



GENERAL VIEW OF EDFOU, THE ANCIENT APOLLINOPOLIS MAGNA.
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columns, the appalling figure of Typhon, the emblem of CHAP. VI
the Evil Principle.

The pyramidal propylon, which forms the principal entrance to the greater temple, is one of the most imposing monuments now existing of Egyptian architecture. Each of the sides is a hundred feet in length, thirty wide, and a hundred high. Many of the figures sculptured on it are thirty feet in height, and are executed in so masterly and spirited a style as to add considerably to the grand effect of the building. In each division there is a staircase of 150 or 160 steps, which conduct the visitor into spacious apartments at different elevations. The horizontal sections of each wing diminish gradually from 100 feet by 30, to 83 by 20, as will appear to the eye from the accompanying plate ; although the solidity and height of the propylon give it more the aspect of a fortress or place of defence than of the approach to a religious edifice. As an explanation of this peculiarity, we are told that the addition of these gateways to a temple was permitted as a favour to such of the ancient kings of Egypt as, for their pious and beneficent actions, became entitled to perpetuate their names in the mansions of their gods. The Ptolemies, who claimed the right of sovereignty from conquest, indulged in the same magnificence, and built porticos, propyla, and even temples. Cleopatra, in her misfortunes, is said to have removed with the most valuable part of her property to an edifice of a very extraordinary size and structure, which she had formerly erected near the fane of Isis. Most probably, as Mr Hamilton thinks, it was a propylon of the kind just described. Nothing could be better adapted for her purpose ; inasmuch as the variety of apartments offered every convenience that could be desired, and when the small door at the bottom of the staircase was closed, it was perfectly inaccessible.

In no part of Egypt are more colossal sculptures seen on the walls of a public building than on the larger temple at Edfou. These, we are told, are extremely well executed, and in some cases the colours are still

Origin of
propylæ.

Cleopatra's
retreat.

Its probable
character

Colossal
sculptures at
Edfou.

CHAP. VI.

Subjects
represented.Accumula-
tion of rub-
bish.Quarries at
Hadjur
Silsili.Unfinished
sculptures.Temple of
Koum
Ombos.

completely unchanged. Priests are seen paying divine honours to the Scarabæus, or beetle, placed upon an altar,—an insect which is said to have been typical of the sun, either because it changes its appearance and place of abode every six months, or because it is wonderfully productive.* We regret to find that both the temples, though well preserved, are almost concealed among heaps of dirt and rubbish; indeed the terrace of the larger one is occupied by several mud cottages belonging to the villagers, and the interior chambers of the sekos are indiscriminately used as sinks, granaries, or stables.

Hadjur Silsili would not detain the traveller in his progress up the Nile, were it not for the immense quarries from which, it is very probable, were hewn at different times those remarkable columns, statues, and obelisks, which lend to Thebes, Dendera, and Hermouthis, their chief attraction even at the present day. Sphinxes, monolithic temples, and other monuments of architectural ingenuity, in an unfinished state, are still found near the rocks out of which they were cut. There is a large mass of stone, eighteen feet in every direction, supported only by a pillar of white earth three feet in diameter,—serving as an example of that peculiar vanity which has been attributed to the Egyptians, and which made them attract the admiration of posterity by works of the boldest design, and requiring the application of the most extraordinary mechanical powers.

Koum Ombos, supposed to represent the ancient capital of the Ombite Nome, attracts notice by the remains of a magnificent temple. The façade consists of a portico of fifteen columns, five in front and three deep, thirteen of which are still standing. The ornaments above the entrances are rich and very highly finished. Towards the north-western angle of the enclosure is a small temple of Isis, the capitals of which are square, and have on each of the four sides the countenance of

* *Egyptiaca*, p. 88. Denon, vol. ii. p. 184.

the goddess beautifully carved. The sculptures on the CHAP. VI.
walls are very numerous, and even now, at the end of
two thousand years, preserve the brilliancy of their first
colouring.*

Es Souan, a town of which the origin is comparatively Es Souan.
modern, stands near the site formerly occupied by the
ancient Syéné. The decline of commercial intercourse
between Egypt and Ethiopia has gradually reduced this
place to the condition of a poor village, subsisting on the
scanty portion of cultivable land that is shut in between
the river and the rocks of the desert. On the acclivity of Small temple,
an adjoining hill is a temple of small dimensions, and
differing somewhat in form from similar monuments
in that country; but being buried in rubbish up to
the capitals of the columns and the architrave, it has
not been minutely examined by recent travellers. Po-
cocke imagined it to be the once celebrated observatory
of Syéné, although no pains were taken to ascertain its
precise structure or object. The position of the famous Well of
well remains equally unknown. In fact, there is no Syene.
agreement among observers as to the northern limit of
the torrid zone, the place where the disc of the sun was
reflected from the surface of the water on the day of the
summer solstice. The calculations of Bruce led him to
believe that Es Souan is situated in latitude $23^{\circ} 28'$; whereas M. Nouet, a French astronomer, asserts that its
true parallel is in $24^{\circ} 8' 6''$. But it ought to be kept in
mind that Syéné stood a little farther towards the south
than the town which now represents it; while it is not
improbable that the point which marked the return of
the solar orb, in his annual course, may have been fixed
at the remotest extremity of the ancient city.

The quarries have been long celebrated, and sufficient vestiges of them still remain to render it credible that they furnished the chief materials for the colossal monuments of Egypt. They are seen at the foot of the mountains on the east, and some of them are close to

* It was dedicated in the reign of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister.—See *Hamilton's Egyptiaca*, p. 75. o

CHAP. VI. the river. The marks of the chisel and drills are distinctly visible, as well as of the powerful wedges with which, when the sides were cleared, the blocks were started from their bed. In one quarry there was found a half-finished obelisk between 70 and 80 feet long, and 10 feet broad. In others were columns in a rough state, possessing similar dimensions ; while along the breast of the hill were observed the marks of immense blocks, thirty and forty feet in length, which had been separated from the rock.

Island of Elephantine. The island of Elephantiné is much richer in architectural remains than the town we have just described. Romans and Saracens, it is true, have done all in their power to deface or to conceal them ; but, as M. Denon remarks, the Egyptian monuments continue devoted to posterity, and have resisted equally the ravages of man and of time. In the midst of a vast field of bricks, and other pieces of baked earth, a very ancient temple is still left standing, surrounded with a pilastered gallery. Nothing, we are informed, is wanting but two pilasters on the left angle of this ruin. Other edifices, it is obvious, had been attached to it at a later period, but only some fragments are remaining, which can give no idea of their form when perfect,—proving only that these accessory parts were much larger than the original

Suggestions regarding its original dedication. sanctuary. Could this be the temple of Cneph, the good genius, he who of all the indigenous gods approaches the nearest to our ideas of the Supreme Being ?

Or is it the temple of this deity which is placed six hundred paces farther to the north, having the same form and size, though more in ruins,—all the ornaments of which are accompanied by the serpent, the emblem of wisdom and eternity, and peculiarly that of the god now named ? Judging from what he had seen of their various temples, Denon is disposed to think that this supposed fane of Cneph belongs to the class which were used in the earliest times, and is absolutely the same species of building as the temple at Gornoo, which appeared to him the most ancient in Thebes. The chief

Opinion of Denon.

difference in the sculpture of the one at Elephantiné is, CHAP. VI.
that the figures have more life, the drapery is more flowing, and falls into a better form of composition.*

The small island of Philoe, which marks the extreme boundary of Upper Egypt, presents likewise some fine specimens of ancient architecture. The first object that attracts the eye are the remains of a beautiful colonnade, having five massy columns on the one side and four on the other. Its magnificent appearance gives an air of elegance to the whole. At a little distance there is a side entrance, built of stones of vast thickness, and covered both inside and out with decorated hieroglyphs, the colours of which still retain their original brightness. Through this there is a passage into a long avenue, having somewhat the appearance of a quadrangular court. On the right hand is the propylon of a noble Propylon. and majestic temple ; and on the left is another splendid colonnade extending to the bank of the river. There are thirty-six columns in a straight line, though the opposite row is diminished to sixteen. The visiter next enters a small handsome square, having a colonnade on each side ; which, supporting a roof, appear to have formed a delightful piazza, the walls of which were covered with hieroglyphical sculpture. On the left between the pillars is a figure playing on a musical instrument like a harp, with ten strings ; and at the end of the passage on the right is a dog holding a dagger in his paw, having a tail resembling a snake's head, and surmounted by the lotus-flower, which grows in the back-ground. Passing through a massive doorway, the stranger finds himself in an apartment, where are ten noble pillars, measuring fourteen feet round, covered with rich carvings, and painted, more especially the capitals, in the most vivid colours. The ceiling is of an exceedingly bright blue, sprinkled with brilliant stars. Doors are seen on either side, leading into small chambers, which have obviously been adorned with laboured

Remains of
the island of
Philoë.

Singular
sculptures.

Decoration of
the ceiling.

* Denon, vol. ii. p. 32.

CHAP. VI. hieroglyphs, though the greater part of them are now very much defaced. Much pains had been taken to obliterate the faces of the various figures, though the success of the iconoclast has not been complete; for where the hammer or chisel was used for this purpose, the place is only rendered more conspicuous, and the outline may still be traced. In some of the rooms the process of concealment seems to have been accomplished by means of a kind of plaster coated on the walls. When this was removed numerous inscriptions and drawings were detected, the most of which were in a good state of preservation, being principally in blue, red, and yellow. It has been observed by several tourists that the figures in the great chamber have on them the sign of the cross, an emblem of the Christian faith, which was also found on the large entrance doorway. From other sources it is well known that this magnificent structure was at one period used as a Greek church.*

Fascination of the monuments. The fascination attending this review of the monuments of ancient art has perhaps carried us somewhat farther than is quite consistent with our plan, which

* Excursions in the Holy Land, &c., vol. i. p. 368. Mr Madoc observed the following inscription on a stone in the entrance-way :

L'an 6 de la République,
le 13 Messidor,
Une armée française commandée par Bonaparte
Est descendue à Alexandrie.
L'armée ayant mis, vingt jours après,
Les Mamelouks en fuite
Aux Pyramides,
Dessaix commandant la première division,
Les a poursuivis au-delà des Cataractes
Où il est arrivé le 13 Ventose de l'an 7.

Les Généraux de Brigade
Davoust, Friand, et Belliard.
D'Onzelot chef de l'état major,
Latour prem. comm. de l'Artillerie,
Eppler chef de la 21^{me} Legere,
Le 13 Ventose, an 7 de la République,
3 Mars an de Js. Cst. 1799.

Gravé par Castet, Sculpteur.

compels us to abstain from minute details, however interesting and agreeable. There is no other nation in the world, if we except those on the eastern borders of Asia,—whose real history has not yet been made known to the European reader,—which could present such a retrospect at the same early period, or gratify the traveller with the display of so much magnificence and beauty. Nor must our opinion of Egyptian science, art, and general civilisation, be limited to the rigid inferences which alone an examination of their actual remains might appear to justify. On the contrary, we are entitled to assume the most liberal principle of reasoning in regard to the acquirements of a people who surpassed, to such an extent, all their contemporaries westward of the Arabian Desert, and to conclude that in other matters, the memorials of which could not be conveyed to posterity by the architect or the sculptor, the priests and sovereigns of the Nile had made a corresponding progress.

For example, we are told that, in the time of Moses, the land of Egypt was celebrated for fine linen,—a notice which, to a hasty reader, conveys only that simple fact, but which, to the philosopher who has reflected on the slow and gradual steps by which nations advance to maturity, suggests a state of improvement inseparable from an established government and the exercise of good laws. Our meaning will receive a suitable illustration from the following passage in the works of Dr Adam Smith: “The woollen coat which covers the day-labourer, coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labour of a great number of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the wool-comber or carder, the dyer, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts in order to complete even this homely production. What a variety of labour, too, is necessary in order to produce the tools of the meanest of those workmen! To say nothing of such complicated machines as the ship of the sailor, the mill of the fuller, or even the

CHAP. VI.
Unequalled
interest of
Egypt.

Egyptian
science and
arts.

Evidences
of great
progress in
civilization.

Remarks of
Dr. Adam
Smith.

CHAP. VI.
Combination
of labour.

General
application of
the principle.

Reference to
Egypt.

Evidences of
progressive
improve-
ment.

loom of the weaver, let us consider only what a variety of labour is requisite in order to form that very simple machine, the shears with which the shepherd clips the wool. The miner, the builder of the furnace for smelting the ore, the feller of the timber, the burner of the charcoal to be made use of in the smelting-house, the brickmaker, the bricklayer, the workmen who attend the furnace, the mill-wright, the forger, the smith, must all of them join their different arts in order to produce them. Were we to examine in the same manner all the different parts of his dress and household furniture, the coarse linen shirt which he wears next his skin, the shoes which cover his feet, the bed which he lies on, together with the tools of all the different workmen employed in producing these different conveniences, we should be sensible that, without the assistance and co-operation of many thousands, the very meanest person in a civilized country could not be provided, even according to what we very falsely imagine the easy and simple manner in which he is usually accommodated."*

Let the reader transfer this reasoning to the "fine linen" of Egypt, and he will immediately see the conclusions to which we have alluded. Many arts must have arrived at great perfection before the commodity mentioned by the Hebrew legislator could have become an object of merchandise or of foreign commerce. How much skill, too, in the art of tempering metals was necessary to prepare tools for the workmen who carved the hardest granite, and covered with sculptures the walls and ceilings of the most ancient temples! Even the improvements of modern Europe supply not means for equalling the ingenious labours of the Egyptian artists. What a series of efforts must have preceded the excellence which is preserved for our admiration in the temples of Karnac and Luxor, in the tombs of Gornoo, and even in the grottos of Eleithias! How many generations must have contributed their share to this perfe-

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 17.

tion ! The contemplative mind seeks refuge in a remoter antiquity than is allowed by the annals of the neighbouring tribes of Syria and of Greece ; some of whom, instead of imitating the arts which would at once have secured to them the comforts and dignity of social life, derived nothing from their intercourse with Egypt except the absurd ceremonies of a gross superstition, fitted to degrade the understanding while it polluted the heart.

It was our intention to have entered at some length Extent of the subject. into a history of the commercial relations which appear to have subsisted at an early period between Egypt and the nations of the East, and which were maintained, during several centuries, by a regular intercourse as well by land as by the Erythræan Sea and the Arabian Gulf. But we must content ourselves with a simple reference to the learned volumes of Dr Vincent on the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, and to Dr Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India ; where is to be found the most authentic information that we possess on this important subject, recommended, too, by very luminous and satisfactory reasoning.

CHAPTER VII.

Civil History of Modern Egypt.

Saracenic Dynasties—Foundation of Cairo—Crusaders—Saladin the Great—Siege of Ptolemais—Death of Saladin—Crusaders defeated—Rise of Mamlouks—The Borghites—Monguls and Tatars—Ibrahim Bey—Ali Bey; His Syrian Campaign; His Death and Character—Mohammed Bey—Ibrahim and Mourad—Invasion by the French—Defeat at Acre—Victory of Lord Nelson—Battle of Alexandria and Death of Abereromby—Evacuation of Egypt by the French—Treacherous Conduct of Hassan—Kusrrouf Pasha—Mohammed Ali; His Success against the Beys; Is appointed Pasha—British Expedition in 1807—Massacre of Mamlouks—History of Wahabees; Defeated by Ibrahim Pasha—European Tactics introduced—Quarrel with the Porte—Ibrahim invades Syria—His great Success—Battle at Beilan—At Homs—He crosses Mount Taurus—Victory at Koniah—War in Arabia—Character of Mohammed Ali.

CHAP. VII. THE enterprising spirit breathed into the Saracens by their military prophet soon made itself felt in the rapid conquests which they effected in all the surrounding countries. Egypt, as a province of the Roman empire, which was already about to fall in pieces by its own weight, could not resist their arms led by the valiant and politic Amru. Aided by treachery, this fortunate general got possession of Alexandria; to the inhabitants of which he presented the humiliating alternative of paying a heavy tribute year after year, or of embracing the Mohammedan faith and submitting to its ritual. At the same time the valuable library which adorned that city fell a prey to the religious bigotry of the conquerors, who thought that any addition to the knowledge

Saracenic enterprise.

Success of Amru.

bequeathed to them by the author of the Koran was CHAP. VII.
either superfluous or positively sinful.

The frequent contentions which ensued during the eighth century for the honours of the caliphate afforded to Egypt an opportunity of occasionally asserting its independence ; but no sooner was the question of supreme power determined by arms or by treaty than the whole country was again compelled to submit to the will of the victor. Among the various dynasties which assumed the reins of government were the descendants of Ali the son-in-law of the prophet, of Abbas his uncle, and of Fatima his daughter,—who continued to urge their respective claims during several generations, and to expel one another in their turn from the thrones of Damascus and of Bagdad.

The reader could take no interest in the obscure wars and sanguinary revolutions which were directed by the powerful families of Aglab, Ommiah, and Ikshed, who not only seized the provincial authority along the shores of the Mediterranean, but even alarmed the successors of Mohammed in Syria and on the banks of the Tigris. At length, towards the end of the tenth century, the chief of the Fatimite branch removed the seat of his power from Cyrene, where it had been long established, to Cahira, the city of victory, the Grand Cairo of modern times. Other princes had assumed independence in Egypt, and refused to acknowledge the temporal supremacy of the Caliph of Bagdad, though the title of the latter, in his capacity of Imaum or chief priest of the faithful, was regularly recited in the daily prayers of the mosque. But the African usurper at length interdicted this mark of spiritual allegiance, and demanded as his own right all the honours which belong to the lineal descendant of the Prophet.

The eleventh century brought upon Egypt a succession of calamities. A dreadful famine, with the usual accompaniments of plague and pestilence, swept off great multitudes, especially in the maritime districts and along the Syrian border. This destructive visitation was suc-

Contentions
of the caliphs.

Obscure
wars of the
Moham-
medans.

Grand Cairo.

Famine and
pestilence.

CHAP. VII. ceded by one hardly less to be deplored,—an inroad of the Turks, who had already descended from the extensive plains of Central Asia and found employment at the court of the caliph as mercenary soldiers. They had resolved to avenge the cause of their master on his rebellious subjects ; and with this view they committed the most horrid cruelties wherever they could carry their arms, setting an example of a savage warfare long unknown to the country which they had overrun, and thereby rousing against themselves the bitterest resentment and detestation of the whole body of the people.

Arrival of the crusaders. The hosts of the Crusaders arrived to complete the misery which the northern barbarians had commenced. Having reduced Pelusium these warriors advanced against Cairo, which they threatened with a similar fate ; but, learning that a Syrian army was on its march to cut off their retreat, they accepted a sum of money and raised the siege.

Aladid, last of the caliphs. Towards the close of the twelfth century the descendants of Fatima ceased to reign over Egypt. Aladid, the last of the race, appears to have intrusted the government to the wisdom of his viziers, who, it is manifest, laboured both at home and abroad to establish their own power rather than that of their master ; and as he had no near relations, his death was the signal for his ambitious minister to seat himself in the empty throne. This founder of a new dynasty was the renowned Saladin, whose name is so closely associated with the most brilliant exploits of the Mohammedan arms. He began by seizing the wealth and securing the strong places of the kingdom,—throwing at the same time into confinement all whom he suspected of being the partisans of the late monarch. Not inheriting the blood of the Prophet, he did not assume the title of caliph, which implies the sacerdotal as well as the kingly office, but contented himself with the denomination of sultan, leaving the priestly duties to be discharged by some individual sprung from the sacred lineage.

Though Saladin was acknowledged sovereign of Egypt

by many of the neighbouring states, and even received the sanction of the Caliph of Bagdad, his government was not yet firmly established. There were two powerful factions opposed to his authority ; the adherents of Aladid's family, who wished to retain the sceptre in the Fatimite succession, and the King of Syria, who dreaded the ascendency of so warlike a neighbour. The former favoured the pretensions of an adventurer who claimed the throne, and even enabled him to appear in the field at the head of 100,000 men. But a complete victory soon relieved the new sultan from all apprehension in this quarter. The Christians, under the command of William, king of Sicily, next engaged his attention, having laid siege to Alexandria both by land and sea. Saladin flew to the relief of a place, the preservation of which was so important at once to his reputation and to the success of his future plans. He had mustered a force sufficient to justify the hazard of a battle ; but before he could accomplish his object, the Crusaders, smitten with a sudden panic, commenced a hurried retreat, leaving behind them their stores, their baggage, and even their military engines. The court of Damascus, still cherishing a feeling of deep-rooted jealousy, endeavoured to strengthen their interests by an extended alliance among the surrounding principalities ; watching eagerly for an opportunity to check the views and disappoint the ambition of the Egyptian sultan. At length they resolved to commit their cause to the fortune of war. A general engagement ensued, which terminated so decidedly in favour of Saladin that he returned from it the undisputed master of the whole of Syria.

His next cares were directed to the enlargement and fortification of Cairo, which he had determined to render a capital worthy of his extensive dominions, and fit to be compared with the more ancient cities adorned by Menes, Sesostris, and Ptolemy. He encouraged the schools and literature of the country, and in many other respects showed qualities suited to a time of peace ; but he was

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Disputed
sovereignty
of Egypt.

Opponents.

Complete
victory.Siege of
Alexandria.Jealousy of
the Court of
Damascus.Fortification
of Cairo.

CHAP. VII.
Conquests of
Saladin.

soon torn away from his schemes of domestic improvement to the din of arms and the ravages of war. Having obtained the ascendancy in Syria, he resolved to extend his power also into Palestine ; and with this view he led his troops against the numerous host of the Crusaders, who had again united their banners for the recovery of the Holy Land. His first efforts in the field were not attended with success. The Christians, animated with an equal courage and long accustomed to the use of their weapons, repelled the attacks of the sultan with so much fury that he saw his fine army perish before his eyes, either in battle or while attempting to retreat across the desert into Egypt.

His indomi-table spirit.

Decisive victory over the crusaders.

March on Jerusalem.

Indignation of the victor

But his spirit could not be subdued by temporary reverses. Aided by commanders who shared his energy and ambition, he resumed offensive operations both by sea and land ; recovered all the ground he had lost in the former campaign ; and finally gained a decisive victory over the allied forces led by Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, and by Arnold, lord of Karac, both of whom were taken prisoners. The former was treated with respect, but the latter was put to death by Saladin's own hand, because he had inflicted many injuries on the followers of the Prophet. Ptolemais, Neapolis, Cæsarea, and other cities, fell into the power of the Egyptian ruler, who, finding nothing to oppose his progress, marched to the capital, which he immediately invested. The garrison was numerous, and made a desperate defence ; but after the conqueror had effected a breach in the walls, and was on the point of entering the town, the governor proposed a capitulation.

The Sultan, enraged at the delay occasioned by a protracted siege, refused to accept the terms ; vowing that he would sack and utterly demolish the holy city, though almost equally venerated by Mohammedans and by Christians. These cruel threatenings roused the spirit of the defenders, who announced their resolution to put 5000 of his prisoners to death, and, in order that no European might be exposed to his revenge, they

would also deprive of life their own wives and children. CHAP. VII.
 They added that, with the view of disappointing their enemy in the expectation of booty, they would destroy every thing valuable within the walls ; level the rock which the disciples of the Koran held sacred ; and then sally out in a body on the besiegers, either to purchase victory or to sell their lives at the dearest price. The knowledge of this resolution moved the besieger to more reasonable terms ; and he consented that the garrison, as well as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, should have their lives spared on the condition of paying a liberal ransom in money.

Desperate resolution of the besieged.

The wars which Saladin carried on against the heroes of the Crusade do not properly fall within the limits of this volume, more especially as the scene of conflict was chosen in Syria rather than in Egypt. Suffice it to mention that, when he had succeeded in establishing his authority from Thebes to Damascus, his territories were once more invaded by a Christian armament, conducted by the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the celebrated Richard Cœur de Lion, the sovereign of England. The combined forces encamped before Ptolemais,—a stronghold which is better known by its modern name of Acre,—in which the sultan had collected a numerous army, and made preparations for a vigorous defence. Want of harmony among the European powers enabled him to resist their attacks a long time, without incurring any serious loss ; and it was not until the approach of famine had thinned his ranks, and depressed the spirits of the survivors, that he consented to offer conditions. Upon the promise of refunding a part of the treasure which, at different times, he had extorted from the allies, he was allowed to march out with the honours of war ; delivering to the victors the possession of a town, the siege of which had involved the sacrifice of three hundred thousand men, including the flower of European chivalry and the best warriors of the East.

New crusades.

European dissensions.

Conditions imposed on him.

After numerous vicissitudes of fortune, in which his active valour, aided by the jealousies that distracted

CHAP. VII. the counsels of his antagonists, had generally secured to him the advantage in the field, he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His son who succeeded him on the throne of Egypt appears to have possessed his ambition without his talents. But Alcamel, to whom the sceptre fell about the beginning of the thirteenth century, threw a lustre on his reign by repelling the Crusaders, who, for the fifth time, invaded the dominions of the Saracens. Damietta had surrendered to the Christians, who, elated by the prosperous commencement of the campaign, advanced up the Nile, and meditated the entire conquest of the country. But the issue of a general action, which soon afterwards took place, was so disastrous to the foreigners that they were compelled to sue for mercy, and at length to accept the conditions of a treaty much more honourable to the clemency of the victors than to the ability of their own commanders.

Death of
Saladin.

Alcamel, his
Successor.

Defeat of the
crusaders in
Egypt.

Disputed
succession.

Nojmaddin.

War against
the armies of
Damascus. Alcamel having died at Damascus in 1238, Aladel, one of his sons, was raised to the throne ; but Nojmaddin, the eldest brother, laid claim to the kingdom. A bloody contest would probably have ensued, had not the younger prince, in the mean time, disappeared or died,—an event which led to the peaceable accession of the senior claimant. This monarch, like his predecessor, soon acquired great influence with the leaders of the Crusade ; for Richard, earl of Cornwall, perceiving that the Sultan of Egypt possessed more power than the Syrian lords of Karac and Damascus, entered into an alliance with him, and thereby ensured protection to the pilgrims when on their way to the holy sepulchre.

In this unsettled state of affairs Nojmaddin passed into Syria, having determined, with the help of some rude tribes who occupied the neighbouring desert, to subdue the faithless armies of Damascus. A battle, in which he found himself opposed by certain European auxiliaries, crowned his enterprise with success, and opened up a path to still more important advantages ; but, in the mean time, a new host of adventurers arrived at the port of Damietta, having Louis the Ninth of France for their

leader. In the absence of the sultan, and while the CHAP. VII.
nation was altogether unprepared for such an inroad, Louis IX. of
the French king made considerable progress; several France.
towns fell; and the inhabitants fled for refuge into the upper part of the country. The sovereign, who was busily engaged in the siege of Emessa, hastened towards home to save his people from the horrors of an utter conquest; but, harassed by fatigue and anxiety, he sank by the way, leaving the government to his son, an inexperienced youth. The enemy still pushed into the interior, apprehending no serious opposition, when to their surprise they found themselves in presence of a formidable army, raised by the exertions of the sultan's widow, the famous Shagir Aldor. Louis was defeated and taken prisoner; whilst his followers, after having endured the greatest privations, were glad to throw themselves upon the compassion of the natives, whose fields they had laid waste, and whose houses they had plundered.

This period is remarkable for the first accession to power of that celebrated class of men called Mamlouks. Saladin, who as a usurper put little confidence in the native troops of Egypt, placed around his person a guard of foreigners, composed of slaves purchased or made captives in the provinces which border on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. Successive sultans had increased the power of these armed attendants by new privileges; and hence, as has always happened in every similar case, they acquired at length the entire disposal of the sovereign authority. Ibeg, one of their number, became regent during the minority of the prince; and upon the death of that boy he married the queen-mother, and finally stepped into the throne. Carried off by assassination he left the supreme power to his son, who only enjoyed it during a very short period; yet, notwithstanding the convulsions which incessantly shook the state, and the alarming progress of the Monguls in the eastern part of the Mohammedan empire, the Mamlouk dynasty directed the affairs of Egypt not less than one hundred and twenty years.

Surprise of
he enemy.

Accession of
the Mam-
louks.

Origin and
increasing
power.

Regency of
Ibeg.

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Degradation
of Egyptian
empire.The Borgh-
ites.Accession of
Barcok.Asiatic
warlike
hordes.

Tamerlane.

Bajazet.

But the inheritance of the Pharaohs was now doomed to pass from the hands of one class of slaves to be seized by another not less vile and degraded. Among the captives annually brought into Egypt were numerous young men from that district of Western Asia which in our days is denominated Circassia. Being enrolled as soldiers, they were stationed in the several fortresses and strongholds which had been erected throughout the kingdom with the view of checking the insubordination of the people; and, accordingly, from the name of such castles in the Coptic tongue, they were denominated Borghites, or garrison-troops, to distinguish them from those who served in the field. By a captain of this militia, whose name was Barcok, the Mamlouk dynasty, properly so called, was brought to an end, and a new race of princes elevated to the vacant throne. His valour and wisdom entitled him to the place which he usurped, and he proved a benefactor to the unhappy country which he could hardly fail to despise.

The latter part of the fourteenth century witnessed the first menaces of those warlike hordes, who, under the various designations of Monguls and Tatars, carried their arms into the southern provinces of Asia, and at length conquered settlements in the richest parts of Africa and Europe. Tamerlane, who had already overrun the fine countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, was desirous to add Syria also to his dominions. With this great object in view, he was directing his march towards the west, when, finding that the Sultan of Egypt had collected a strong force at Damascus to dispute his progress, he turned on his steps and sought a less formidable enemy near the sources of the Indus. At the same time the furious Bajazet, at the head of his Ottoman levies, was spreading terror upon both sides of the Hellespont, and had approached to the very gates of Constantinople. He had, indeed, expressed a determination to reduce that city, and to found his government upon the ruins of the Roman empire; in pursuance of which plan he eagerly solicited the friend-

ship of Barcock and the blessing of the caliph, who, in his capacity of Imaum or chief priest of the Mohammedan church, kept his usual residence at Cairo. The fate of Egypt appeared for a time inseparably connected with the policy of one or other of these warriors, who were resolved to possess it either as an ally or as a vassal. But, fortunately for the peace and independence of that country, the armies of the rival barbarians exhausted themselves in mutual hostilities, till, after various success on either side, Bajazet was taken prisoner, and Tamerlane relinquished the pursuit of military fame. Relieved from a confederacy which must have borne it down, Egypt preserved, a century and a half longer, under a succession of very feeble princes, the semblance of supreme power; when at length, in 1517, the victorious arms of the Turks dethroned the last of the Borghite dynasty, and reduced his kingdom to the condition of a province.

In the most perfect form of the Turkish government in Egypt it consisted of a divan, or council of regency, composed of those who commanded the military bodies, —the president, in all cases, being the Pasha, or Viceroy. From the Mamlouk Beys, who presided over the provinces, were chosen the Sheik el Belled, or Governor of Grand Cairo; the Janizary Aga, or Commander of the Janizaries; the Defturdar, or Accountant-general; the Emir el Hadgi, or Conductor of the Caravan; the Emir el Saïd, or Governor of Upper Egypt; and the Sheik el Bekheri, or Governor of the Sherifs.

In the course of the sixteenth century, when Soliman the First was involved in war with the great European powers, the authority of the Porte in Egypt was considerably diminished, and several important changes were introduced into the local government. The beys, who superintended the twenty-four departments into which the kingdom was divided, collected the revenues of their respective districts, and thereby acquired a degree of influence which rendered them equally insolent and formidable. The heads of the seven military

Critical position of Egypt

Captivity of Bajazet.

Form of the Turkish government.

Turkish Beys.

CHAP. VII. corps and the pasha becoming excessively avaricious, courted the favour of the beys, who could enforce the payment of tribute with severity, or remit it in part, according to their pleasure. By indulging the members of the regency, these officers in their turn increased in power till they obtained the complete disposal of public affairs. The subordinate governors had originally a few Mamlouks at their command, for enabling them to make their authority respected in the provinces where they presided ; but in proportion as their power was enlarged they augmented their attendants, and by that means added materially to their military strength as independent rulers. When, too, a vacancy occurred in any particular district, the most influential bey had his favourite slave appointed to the office. Such an election still farther augmented his authority ; and by pursuing a similar course, the most active of these chiefs acquired a continually increasing weight in the government, and their adherents at length became the only efficient soldiers in the state.

Accession of Ibrahim. Subordinate appointments. Accession of Ibrahim. Politic proceedings.

By means similar to those now described, Ibrahim, one of the veteran colonels of the Janizaries, succeeded, about the middle of last century, in rendering himself in effect the sovereign of Egypt. He had so multiplied and advanced his enfranchised Mamlouks, that of the twenty-four beys no fewer than eight belonged to his household ; and the influence connected with these appointments was the greater, inasmuch as the pasha always left vacancies in the subordinate situations, in order that he might appropriate the revenue to his own private purposes. On the other hand, the largesses which he bestowed on the officers and soldiers of his corps had firmly attached them to his interest, when Rodoan, the most powerful of the Azab colonels, devoted himself to his cause, and thereby completed his political ascendancy. The pasha, incapable of opposing this faction, was no more than a phantom in the public eye, and even the orders of the sultan himself were lightly regarded when weighed against those of Ibrahim. At his death, which happened

In 1757, his slaves, divided among themselves but united against all others, continued to give the law. Rodoan, who had succeeded to the influence of his colleague, was expelled and slain by the younger beys; and during a period of ten years the affairs of Egypt were managed by a cabal, whose principal motives, veiled by the most empty pretensions of patriotism, were ambition and revenge. At length the celebrated Ali, one of their number, gained a decided superiority over his rivals; and, under the successive titles of Emir Hadgi and Sheik el Belled, and by means which indicate the degraded condition of all classes of the people, rendered himself absolute master of the whole country.

The birth of Ali Bey, like that of the Mamlouks in general, is extremely uncertain. It is commonly believed in Egypt that he was the son of a Circassian peasant, bought or captured as a slave when about twelve years of age, and afterwards sold at Cairo to a Jew, who made a present of him to Ibrahim, the aspiring chief already mentioned. In the house of his patron he received the customary education of a page, which consisted in horsemanship, in the ready use of the carbine, pistol, and sabre, in throwing the lance, and sometimes in a little reading and writing. In these exercises he displayed an activity and fire which obtained for him the surname of Djendali, or Madcap. But the calculations and anxiety inseparable from ambition soon moderated this excessive warmth. At the age of eighteen he received the gift of manumission from his indulgent master, who soon afterwards appointed him to a government, and procured for him a place among the twenty-four beys, at once the tyrants and protectors of the unhappy natives.

The death of Ibrahim, we have remarked, was a signal to his dependants for rapacity and intrigue. Ali Bey was neither the least active nor the least successful. He precipitated Rodoan from his guilty elevation, and was preparing to realize a plan for thinning still farther the ranks of his opponents, when he was compelled to leave the city and take refuge in a temporary exile. At the

CHAP. VII.

Protracted cabal.

Ali Bey.

Education.

His manu-
mission.Incident con-
sequent on
the death of
Ibrahim.

CHAP. VII. end of two years, which he had spent in making the necessary arrangements, he appeared suddenly in Cairo ; slew four beys who were his enemies ; banished four others ; and from that moment became the chief of the prevailing party. He no longer thought it necessary to conceal his ulterior views ; but expelling the pasha, and refusing the tribute annually remitted to Constantinople, he assumed the supreme power, and even proceeded so far as to coin money in his own name.

Sudden appearance of Ali Bey, in Cairo. Indignation of the Porte. Red Sea fleet. Allies. Mohammed Bey.

The Porte did not behold without indignation such an attack upon its authority ; but, being occupied with the affairs of Poland and the pretensions of Russia, could not bestow a sufficient degree of attention on the revolted province. The usual methods of poison and the bow-string were repeatedly attempted ; but Ali, whose vigilance was ever awake, turned these deadly instruments against the lives of those who bore them. To consolidate his power, he equipped a fleet in the Red Sea, and took possession of Mecca and Djidda ; at the latter of which places he meant to establish an emporium of Indian commerce, and thereby to supersede the tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope. His chief undertaking, however, was directed against the Turkish arms in Syria. Sheik Daher, already in rebellion, was a powerful and faithful ally ; while the extortions of the Pasha of Damascus, by driving the people to revolt, afforded the most favourable opportunity for invading his government.

In the year 1771 a force, amounting to about sixty thousand men, crossed the frontier under the command of Mohammed Bey, the friend of Ali. Daher sent four or five thousand irregular cavalry to strengthen the expedition, led by his son, a youth of great military promise ; while on the other hand, the Pashas of Sidon, Tripoli, and Aleppo, mustered their several contingents, and advanced to join Osman the governor of Damascus, whose territory was menaced with invasion. On the 6th of June, an action took place, when the Mamlouks and their allies rushed with so much fury on the Turks

that the latter, terrified at the carnage, had immediate CHAP. VII.
recourse to flight. The troops of Ali instantly became masters of the whole country, and took possession of the capital without opposition, there being neither soldiers nor walls to defend it. The castle, indeed, made a show of resistance ; but the garrison, already conquered by their own fears, soon hastened to capitulate, in order to prevent the horrors of an assault.

Defeat of the
Turks.

The morning on which the place was to be surrendered witnessed an extraordinary scene ; for, at dawn of day the Egyptian army was beheld in full retreat towards the Nile. In vain did Daher fly to demand the cause of so strange a measure ; Mohammed made no other answer to the anxious interrogatories of the Syrian rebel than that it was his pleasure to retire, and that no one was entitled to question the prudence of his conduct. Nor was it merely a retreat conducted on military principles : it was a positive flight ; the Mamlouks rushing from before the walls as if hotly pursued by a victorious enemy, while the road from Damascus to Cairo was covered with men on foot, and with the stores and baggage which they had abandoned. This singular occurrence was attributed at the time to a pretended report of the death of Ali Bey ; but the real cause, soon afterwards discovered, was no other than a conference with Osman, held in the tent of the Egyptian commander, when the pasha gained him and the beys under his orders to the interests of the Sublime Porte. Convinced by the arguments addressed to their avarice not less than to their fears, they swore by the sabre and the Koran to return home without delay ; and so suddenly did they execute their determination that the news of their coming preceded their actual arrival at Cairo only by six hours. Ali would at once have punished this treason by the death of his general ; but, finding him supported by many powerful individuals in the army, he suppressed his rage, thinking it more politic to postpone the moment of revenge till he could gratify it without danger.

Extraordin-
ary retreat of
the Egyptian
army.

Characteris-
tics of total
flight.

Cause of this
proceeding.

Policy of Ali.

To effect the ruin of Mohammed, whose conduct even

CHAP. VII. after the affair of Damascus continued to excite suspicion, he gave orders on one occasion, that no Mamlouk should be suffered to pass the gates of Cairo in the evening or at night ; and, at the same moment, commanded his rival into exile. He had hoped, it was supposed, that the object of his displeasure, as he must necessarily leave the city before morning, would be detained by the guards for attempting to violate the regulation just mentioned, and be thereby placed entirely in his power. But the soldiers, imagining that their general was charged with private instructions from Ali, allowed him to pass without interruption, although accompanied by a formidable retinue ; nor was the mistake discovered until it was too late to pursue him. The fugitive retired into the Saïd, where he drew around him all the discontented Mamlouks, and waited with impatience an opportunity for avenging their common cause.

In a little time the force of this disaffected chief was so greatly augmented that he thought himself sufficiently strong to make an attempt upon Cairo. A battle ensued in a plain adjoining to the city, which terminated so decidedly to the advantage of the insurgents that Ali found some difficulty in escaping at the head of eight hundred horsemen, who accompanied his flight into Syria. There he joined his old ally Daher, who still held out against the government of Constantinople ; and, having strengthened the camp with so seasonable a reinforcement of well-disciplined cavalry, he took share in an expedition at that instant meditated by the revolted pasha, the object of which was to raise the siege of Sidon. The Turks, unwilling to be attacked in their trenches, drew out their tumultuary bands to a little distance from the town, and prepared for a general action. Fortune once more smiled on Ali and his confederates, who soon saw the army of the enemy, three times more numerous than their own, entirely defeated, and scattered over the face of the country.

Flushed with this success, the exiled ruler longed to return to his capital, where he was insidiously informed

Proceedings
against Mo-
hammed.

His retire-
ment.

Augmen-
tation of his
forces.

Flight of Ali.

Total defeat
of Moham-
med Bey.

by the agents of Mohammed, that the majority of the inhabitants were anxious to behold him restored to his former power. He was also deceived by his superstition, which taught him to believe that the hour of his ascendant was come, and that the stars pointed out the path to a renewed and permanent glory. Had he listened to the voice of prudence, he would have waited for the assistance promised by the Russians,—who did not disdain to consider him a useful ally in their war with the Porte,—and for the troops detached by Daher, to secure a victorious return, whatever might be the intentions or military resources of the hostile beys. But yielding to an inconsiderate impatience, with the remains of his Mamlouks and fifteen hundred Sifadians, he entered the desert, where he was met by Mourad at the head of a superior force; wounded by the hand of this young officer; taken prisoner; and forthwith conducted into the presence of his enemy. On the third day after this event, his death was announced to the soldiers, who were desired to ascribe it to the severe hurts which he had received in the fight; but who, notwithstanding, were generally disposed to trace it to the operation of poison, or to the less tedious application of the dagger.

Thus terminated the career of this celebrated person, who for some time engaged the attention of Europe, and afforded to many politicians the hopes of a beneficial revolution. That he was an extraordinary character cannot be denied; but it is exaggeration to place him in the class of great men. The accounts given of him by those who knew him best, prove that though he possessed the seeds of great qualities, the want of culture prevented them from coming to maturity. Notwithstanding, we must admire in him one property which distinguished him from the multitude of tyrants who have governed Egypt, and which is never the portion of vulgar minds; he was actuated by the desire of attaining glory, although a vicious education prevented him from discovering its true elements as well as the path which leads to it. To be a great statesman as well as a warrior he wanted

Premature triumph of Ali Bey.

His defeat.

Capture and death.

His character.

Elevating characteristics.

CHAP. VII. nothing but the lessons of civilized life, or the aid of enlightened counsellors ; and, of those who are born to command, how few are there who merit even this restricted eulogium !*

Government
of Moham-
med.

The death of Ali Bey did not produce any change favourable to Egypt ; on the contrary, Mohammed, into whose hands the supreme power fell undivided, displayed, during the two years of his government, no qualities more respectable than the ferocity of a robber and the baseness of a traitor. He began, indeed, by renewing the customary tribute to the sultan, and even paid the arrears due by his predecessor ; but his conduct soon proved that, instead of acting on the principles of a generous patriotism, he intended no more than to purchase the means of gratifying political revenge, and of depressing a formidable neighbour. He sought permission to wage war with Daher, and to reduce the whole of Syria to the obedience of the Porte ; thereby covering the deep feeling of private resentment under the cloak of public duty.

Base motives.

After due preparation, he undertook the siege of Jaffa, which, owing to the ignorance of the assailants rather than the courage of the garrison, was protracted to the end of six weeks. At length conditions were agreed on, and the treaty might have been held as concluded, when, in the midst of the security occasioned by that belief, the Mamlouks rushing into the town, subjected it to all the horrors of an assault, putting women and children, old and young, to death ; while Mohammed, equally mean and barbarous, caused a pyramid, formed of the heads of these unfortunate sufferers, to be raised as a monument of his victory. He next advanced to Acre, where the Sheik Daher had established his government, and demanded that all the riches accumulated within the city should be delivered up to him, under the pain of a universal massacre of the inhabitants, not excepting the

Siege of
Jaffa.

Barbarous
triumph.

* Volney's Travels through Egypt and Syria, vol. i. p. 139. Edinburgh Encyclopædia, article Egypt.

European merchants. But, before the day arrived on CHAP. VII which he intended to realize his savage threatening, he was carried off by a malignant fever in the very prime of life. Sudden death.

This event took place in the summer of 1776 ; upon which the army, as on a former occasion, dispersed in the greatest disorder, and accomplished a tumultuous retreat into Egypt. Mohammed had left at Cairo one of his freedmen, Ibrahim Bey, as governor of the city, taking with him into Syria the more warlike Mourad, to whom he confided the management of the campaign. These two chiefs were now prepared to dispute the succession, and every appearance at first threatened open hostilities ; but, when they had time to consider the power and resources of each other, they determined to avoid the issue of a combat, and to share between them the authority which neither was content to relinquish. Dispersion of the army.

Their joint administration, however, was soon disturbed by the jealousies of the other beys, who thought themselves unjustly deprived of the influence which belonged to their rank,—a feeling which made the deepest impression on certain individuals who had belonged to the house of Ali, the great patron of their order. Two of that number, Hassan and Ishmael, collected their adherents and took the field. Mourad pursued them into the Saïd, where the greater part either abandoned their leaders or capitulated without coming to action. Opponents.

Dissension at length divided the interests of the sovereign colleagues, and even drove them to arms. Each in his turn fled from Cairo, and formed an encampment in Upper Egypt ; but no sooner did their troops appear in sight of one another, than the chiefs induced them to settle their differences on the basis of a new treaty. Matters continued in this precarious situation till 1786, when, peace being established between the Russians and the Turks, the sultan resolved to reduce Egypt once more to a state of obedience. With this view he despatched the celebrated Hassan Pasha at the head of Dissensions and treaties.

Resolution of the Sultan.

CHAP. VII.

Battle of
Mentorbes.Hassan ap-
pointed go-
vernor of
Cairo.Settled go-
vernment
established.Death of the
Pasha.French
invasion.

25,000 men, who, landing at Alexandria in the month of July, made instant preparations for advancing towards the capital. Mourad and his Mamlouks met him at Mentorbes, where a desperate battle ensued. The ground being still very soft from the effects of the inundation, the Turkish infantry gained a decided advantage over horsemen whose movements were constantly impeded, and who, sinking in the mud, were equally incapable of attack or defence. Cairo opened its gates to Hassan, who, after appointing a governor, continued his march in pursuit of the rebellious beys into Upper Egypt. The difficulties of this undertaking, however, induced him in the course of the following year to accede to a treaty, by which the insurgents were left in full possession of the country from Barbieh to the frontiers of Nubia, on condition of relinquishing all claims to the territory below the limits now specified.

The wisdom and moderation of the Turkish deputy procured the inestimable blessing of a settled government to the inhabitants of Lower Egypt. He lightened their burdens, redressed their numerous grievances, and fortified the city so as to protect it from a sudden inroad on the part of the disaffected beys. But, in 1790, the plague appeared in its most virulent form, and, after committing frightful devastation among the peasantry, put an end to the life of the pasha himself. Only a short interval elapsed, during which an attempt was made to perpetuate the authority of the Porte, when Mourad and Ibrahim returned from their exile, and assumed once more the sovereign power in defiance of the sultan and his divan.

But the domestic struggles of party were now about to be superseded by an event which threatened the existence of Egypt as a province of the Turkish empire. In 1798, a French army under General Bonaparte effected a landing near Alexandria, with the avowed object of restoring the legitimate influence of the grand seignior, but with the real intention of adding that important country to the dominions of the new republic.

The Mamlouks resolved to dispute his passage towards CHAP. VII. the capital, and accordingly awaited his approach at Imbaba, a village about seven miles distant from the Great Pyramids. As might have been expected, the discipline of the French triumphed over the wild courage of their opponents, gained a complete victory, and opened the way for the possession of Cairo. Ibrahim fled into the eastern parts of the Delta, while Mourad with the remnant of his brave horsemen retreated into the desert beyond Sakhara.

The possession of Egypt had long been viewed by the politicians of France as an object of great importance. It is therefore an error to suppose that the scheme of conquering that country originated with Napoleon Bonaparte; for he, in adopting this bold measure, did no more than follow up the ideas of several writers who had great influence on the public mind of Europe. Sanuto the Venetian, for example, mentions the subjugation of Egypt by some nation whose territory bordered on the Mediterranean, as the most effectual blow that could be struck against the power of the Crescent, as well as the most likely means for recovering the India trade. Count Daru, who in his history of Venice repeats the arguments of Sanuto, reminds his readers, that the communication between Hindostan and the southern parts of Europe, by the channel of the Red Sea, was the shortest, the surest, and the most economical; that it would not be difficult to establish a communication between the Arabian Gulf and the Nile; that, independently of the commerce of India, there was on the eastern coast of that sea a region abounding in aromatics and perfumes; that Africa itself, by its gold and ivory, offered rich materials for trade; and, in short, that the occupation of Egypt by one of the maritime powers of the Mediterranean was preferable to the possession of all the provinces between the Indus and the Ganges.*

Battle of the Pyramids.

Policy of the conquest of Egypt.

Origin of the scheme.

Schemes of Indian commerce.

Anticipations entertained.

* The motives on which the expedition was undertaken are thus explained by Napoleon himself: "There were," says he, "three objects in the expedition to Egypt,—1st, To establish a French co-

CHAP. VII.
Opinion of
Leibnitz.

Leibnitz, too, addressed to Louis the Fourteenth ■ memorial on the same subject, advising him to lay hold of that country for the purpose of destroying the maritime and commercial ascendency of the Dutch, which he alleges depended mainly on the success of their Indian trade. It is therefore manifest that Bonaparte only revived an old theory, and attempted to launch against Britain the weapon which the German philosopher had forged for the destruction of the merchants and ship-masters of Holland.*

The Sultan
declares war
with France.

The government of the sultan, who could not mistake the motives of Napoleon, declared war in the following year against the French republic. Throwing off the mask, political and religious, which did not deceive even

lony on the Nile, which would prosper without slaves, and serve France instead of the republic of St Domingo and of all the sugar islands ; 2dly, To open a market for our manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and to supply our commerce with all the productions of those vast countries ; 3dly, Setting out from Egypt as from a place of arms, to lead an army of 60,000 men to the Indus, to excite the Mahrattas and oppressed people of those extensive regions to insurrection. Sixty thousand men, half Europeans and half recruits from the burning climates of the equator and the tropics, carried by 10,000 horses and 50,000 camels, having with them provisions for fifty or sixty days, water for five days, and ■ train of artillery of a hundred and fifty pieces, with double supplies of ammunition, would have reached the Indus in four months. Since the invention of shipping the ocean has ceased to be an obstacle ; and the desert is no longer an impediment to an army possessed of camels and dromedaries in abundance. The two first objects were fulfilled, and notwithstanding the loss of Admiral Bruey's squadron at Alexandria, the intrigue by which Kleber was induced to sign the convention of El Arish, the landing of from 30,000 to 35,000 English, commanded by Abercromby at Aboukir and Cosseir, the third object would have been attained ; a French army would have reached the Indus in the winter of 1801-1802, had not the command of the army devolved, in consequence of the murder of Kleber, on a man who, although abounding in courage, talents for business, and goodwill, was of a disposition wholly unfit for any military command.”—Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 205.

* Histoire de Venice, tome iii. pp. 75, 76. Webster’s Travels through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt. The Venetians solicited the authority of the Pope to trade with Infidels; but in the mean time, says the historian, they made no scruple to conform to the errors of the Mussulmans, by enacting treaties “in the name of the Lord and of Mahomet”—*au nom du Seigneur et de Mahomet*.

the Arabs and Fellahs of Egypt, the invader led his army into Syria and laid siege to the principal towns on the coast. El Arish and Jaffa were quickly reduced ; upon which he opened his trenches before Acre. The result of this memorable enterprise is too well known to require any details. After sacrificing his heavy artillery, the conqueror of Italy commenced a retreat towards Egypt under the most unfavourable circumstances ; his track through the desert being marked by the dead bodies of his soldiers, who had sunk under fatigue or were cut down by the light cavalry of the enemy.

Dessaix, who had been left to prosecute the war against the Mamlouks, found himself unable to bring them to a general action. Mourad retired before him as far as Syené, occupying such positions as rendered an attack impossible ; and no sooner did the French turn their backs, than he assailed their rear or cut off their supplies. Meanwhile a Turkish fleet appeared on the coast with eight thousand men on board. Hardly had they landed when they were met by Bonaparte, who, after an obstinate and sanguinary conflict, overwhelmed them with a complete destruction ; the most of those who escaped his bayonets being drowned in attempting to regain their ships.

Although we profess not to give the history of the military proceedings which determined the fate of Egypt at the beginning of this century, we cannot pass without remark the exaggeration of Denon, who says that at Aboukir the French destroyed twenty thousand Turks, six thousand being killed, two thousand taken, and the remainder driven into the sea. Such statements were written to gratify the pride or amuse the anxiety of the Parisians, who could not conceal from themselves that their country had sacrificed a fleet and an army to the romantic ambition of a popular general ; and it is no longer denied by the biographers of Bonaparte, that he was in the practice of dictating falsehoods, to be given to the world in the form of public despatches, in order to withdraw attention from the amount of his disasters.

CHAP VII.

Proceedings
of NapoleonDiscomfiture
at Acre.Failure of
Dessaix.Turkish rein-
forcements
defeated.Exaggerated
accounts.Motives for
them.

CHAP. VII.

Failure of
Napoleon's
scheme.His return
to France.Abortive
negotiations.Resolution
of General
Menou.

The victory of Nelson, and the repulses sustained in Syria, indicated to this chief that the star of his fortune was not to reach its ascendant in Egypt. Intrusting the command to Kleber, he departed in a secret manner from head-quarters, and sailed for France, where he hastened to forget the companions of his toil in the deep game of politics which soon afterwards placed him on a throne. Napoleon is understood to have instructed his successor in the East to enter into a negotiation with the government of the Porte for evacuating the country, on condition that certain commercial advantages should be conceded to the French republic. Failing in this, it is related that Kleber consented to withdraw his army on the simple terms of being allowed to retain private property, and of having the safety of his men guaranteed against the Mamlouks on shore and the British at sea. But the treaty does not appear to have been signed; each party imagining that their circumstances might be improved by another appeal to arms. The French general, indeed, was soon afterwards assassinated at Cairo; when Menou, who succeeded to the chief authority, being encouraged by the expectation of receiving fresh supplies from Europe, resolved to keep possession of the country at all hazards, and to defend his positions against the combined forces of the Turks and English.*

* Sir Robert Wilson (*History of Expedition*, p. 65, quarto edition) assigns a reason for the renewal of the war highly creditable to the British character. Admiral Keith refused to give his consent to the conditions agreed upon at El Arish, communicating to the Turks his conviction of the greater expediency of driving the French out of the country altogether. Kleber was at Cairo, and making preparations to evacuate the capital, when a notice reached him from Sir Sidney Smith, stating that hostilities were to be continued, and that he was not expected to fulfil the terms of a convention which was not to be observed by the other party. The Turks, it is said, meant to take advantage of Kleber's ignorance, and to attack him while reposing on his arms. It is added, that they never forgave Sir Sidney for his generous honesty, considering him as little better than a traitor to their cause.

Others insinuate that Kleber had no intention of acceding to the treaty, and that he negotiated with the allies only to gain time until the arrival of reinforcements from Europe should enable him to act

Sir Ralph
Abercrom-
bie's success.

Its conse-
quences.

The debarkation of the army under Sir Ralph Abercromby, the gallant actions which succeeded, and the defeat of the French near Alexandria, on the 21st March 1800, are matters of general history familiarly known to every reader. Egypt at that period became the scene of European wars; the policy of two great nations was brought into collision on the banks of the Nile; and the fate of India, or at least the temporary security of the British possessions in that vast country, appeared to depend on the success or failure of this unwonted expedition into an African province. Each party professed to support the legitimate power of the grand seignior; but even the simplest of the Arab tribes could not fail to perceive that their land was desolated by the ambition of the Franks, who, they began to suspect, were accustomed to avow one motive and to act upon another.

The siege of Alexandria was rendered remarkable by an expedient which necessity appeared to sanction, though doubts have since been entertained both of its wisdom and humanity. It is worthy of notice, at the same time, that it was suggested by the French; for in the pocket of General Roiz, who was killed in the action of the 21st, there was found a letter written by Menou, expressing an apprehension that the British would cut the embankment along which was carried the canal of Alexandria, and thereby admit the waters of the sea into Lake Mareotis. "From that moment," says Sir Robert Wilson, "it had become the favourite object of the army, as, by securing the left and part of its front, the duty would be diminished, the French cut off from the interior, and a new scene of operations opened." But there were very serious objections to the measure, more especially as the mischief it might do was incalculable. The Arabs could give no information where such a sea would be checked; the ruin of Alexandria might pro-

Remarkable
expedient.

Its origin and
object.

Objections.

with greater certainty of success. See Wilson; Dr Clarke, vol. iii.; Life of Bonaparte in Family Library; Bourienne's Memoirs; and the Modern Traveller.

CHAP. VII. bably be the consequence ; and it was also obvious, that Probable while the inundation covered the British left, it would consequence. also secure the front of the French position, except from a new landing. But the urgency of the present service seemed to justify the neglect of all remoter considerations. The general reluctantly consented, and the army, it is said, was in raptures. Never did a working-party Scheme carried out. labour with more zeal ; every man would have volunteered with cheerfulness to assist. Four cuts were made, of six yards in breadth, and about ten distant from each other ; but only two could be opened the first night. At seven o'clock the last fascine was removed, and the joy was universal. The water rushed in with a fall of six feet ; and the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, the consolidation of ages, was in a few hours destroyed by the devastating hand of man. Two more cuts were finished next day, and three more marked out ; but the force of the water was such as soon to break one into the other ; and now an immense body of water rushed in, which continued flowing for a month with considerable violence.

Destructive effects. Seige of Cairo. After a variety of skirmishes, which usually terminated to the advantage of the British and their allies, Hutchinson resolved to lay siege to Cairo, where the main strength of the French army was now assembled. Beliard, who commanded in that city, proposed terms of capitulation ; being at length perfectly satisfied that, without reinforcements from Europe, the war could not be carried on with any rational prospect of success. On the 27th June articles were signed, by which the garrison consented to evacuate the capital on condition of being sent to France.

Terms of capitulation. Blockade of Alexandria. Meantime the blockade of Alexandria was prosecuted with vigour under the direction of General Coote. Menou, it is said, had expressed his determination to bury himself in its ruins rather than pull down the flag of the victorious republic ; but no sooner had a regular bombardment commenced from the ships in the harbour and the batteries on land, than his resolution failed, and

he expressed his readiness to listen to terms. On the second of September, the garrison laid down their arms, on the usual condition of being sent to their own country without any impeachment on their honour as soldiers ; and thus Egypt, after having been more than two years the theatre of a destructive war, found itself once more under the government of the Turks, and acknowledging the authority of the Sublime Porte.

CHAP. VII.
Surrender of
the garrison.

The British general exerted himself to the utmost to procure favourable terms in behalf of the Mamlouk beys, who, it was well known, had resolutely opposed the French, and suffered no small loss, both in men and property, in the earlier period of the invasion. Mourad had already fallen a victim to the plague, and Ibrahim, now well advanced in age, was at the head of their affairs, assisted by Osman Tambourji, an active and very gallant officer. On the surrender of Cairo, General Hutchinson insisted that they should have restored to them all their rights and dignities, on the condition of paying an annual tribute to the sultan, and of permitting the pasha to exercise the authority belonging to him, as a viceroy, at the head of a competent body of troops.

Exertions in
favour of
the Mamlouk
beys.

Terms de-
manded for
them.

The grand vizier, who was still in Egypt, ostensibly concurred in this arrangement, and reinstated Ibrahim in his former office of Sheik el Belled, or governor of Cairo ; but it was, nevertheless, the intention of the court to depress the beys to such a degree that they should no longer have it in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the province. With this view the capitán pasha invited their leader, with his principal officers, to his camp at Aboukir. These rough soldiers, dreading no treachery, repaired to the admiral's presence, and were received by him with every demonstration of esteem. Pleasure and amusements were freely lavished on them ; but, as this complaisance had no apparent object, the guests became tired of it, expressed their suspicions to the British general, and even threatened to leave the camp without permission. That officer assured them of the friendly intentions of the pasha, and of their own safety ; not

Policy of
the grand
vizier.

The leaders
at Aboukir.

Suspicions
excited.

CHAP. VII.

suspecting the frightful atrocity which the barbarian chief was actually meditating.

Entertainment of the beys.

A short time afterwards, when Lord Hutchinson was about to leave the country, Hassan again invited the beys to a sumptuous entertainment ; on which occasion, at his urgent request, they consented to go on board some pleasure-boats which he had provided for the purpose. When they had proceeded to a little distance at sea, they were followed by a fast-sailing skiff, sent as it were with intelligence to the pasha ; which he no sooner perceived than he mentioned the necessity of conversing with the messenger, apprehending that he might be the bearer of important despatches from Constantinople. The cutter came alongside, and what appeared to be ample despatches were handed to the Turk, who, on pretence of reading them more at his leisure, stepped into the small vessel, which immediately fell back. The Mamlouks, not yet suspecting the snare which was laid for them, proceeded on their course ; but no sooner did they enter Aboukir Bay than they saw some large ships filled with soldiers, and ready for action. They now perceived their danger, and their worst fears were about to be realized ; for discharges of musketry and artillery hurling destruction among the boats killed nearly all that were on board. Those who escaped death were taken prisoners, and forced to swear on the Koran that they would not reclaim the protection of the English. Our countrymen, however, indignant at this abominable instance of Mussulman treachery, and sensible that their own faith had been pledged for the safety of the beys, addressed to the pasha a very severe remonstrance : they insisted that the prisoners should be liberated, and that the bodies of the murdered chiefs should be buried with military honours.

British re-monstrance.

Mohammed Kusrouf appointed Pasha.

On the departure of Hassan, Mohammed Kusrouf, his favourite slave, was appointed Pasha of Grand Cairo. A Georgian by birth, this minion of fortune, equally weak and tyrannical, seemed to confine all the energies of his government to the extermination of the hated

Barbarous plot.

Cruel massacre.



MOHAMMED ALI, VICEROY OF EGYPT.

Page 274.

Mamlouks. He invited them to fix their residence in CHAP. VII. the capital ; and, upon meeting a direct refusal, he sent ^{Plot against} a strong force against them into Upper Egypt, under the command of Taher, and the celebrated Mohammed Ali, ^{the Mamlouks.} Mohammed then beginning to rise into power. All attempts at Ali. negotiation having failed, he despatched a larger army which he intrusted to Yousef Bey, with strict orders to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. A battle ensued in the neighbourhood of Damanhour, in which the Turks ^{Defeat of} were miserably defeated, with the loss of five thousand ^{the Turks.} men killed and wounded. The conquerors, being very little weakened, might have pushed their success to the gates of Cairo ; but, from ignorance and dissension, they threw away the fruits of their victory, and allowed the viceroy time to rally the fugitives, and place the city in ■ posture of defence.

Yousef attributed his want of success to the disaffection or the cowardice of Mohammed Ali, who appears to have been second in command,—a charge which was eagerly listened to by the pasha, who had already seen reason to apprehend the ambitious projects of this remarkable person, whose character has since made so deep an impression on the affairs of Egypt. The attempt ^{Revolution in Egypt.} which was made to bring him to trial occasioned a revolution in the government, the effects of which have been perpetuated to the present day ; but, in order that the connexion of events may be more clearly traced, we must indulge in a brief retrospect of his earlier progress towards the distinction which he continues to occupy.

The present Viceroy of Egypt is a native of Cavalla, ^{Early life of} a small town in Roumelia, a district of Albania. Losing ^{the viceroy.} his father in early life, he was protected by the governor of the place, who bestowed upon him that species of training which qualifies a man to rise under a despotic government, where vigilance, intrepidity, and a ready use of arms, are held the most valuable accomplishments. His activity recommended him to an appointment as a subordinate collector of taxes ; and, in the performance of this duty, it was observed that he set a higher value

CHAP. VII. on the money which he was ordered to exact, than on the blood or even the lives of the unhappy peasantry over whom his jurisdiction extended. On one occasion the inhabitants of a village refused payment, resisted, threatened, and rose in rebellion. The governor was alarmed at this unusual firmness, and applied to Mohammed. The young functionary undertook to reduce them to obedience ; and for this purpose he proceeded to the refractory hamlet at the head of a few men hastily equipped, announcing that he was charged with a secret mission. He entered a mosque, and sent for several of the principal inhabitants, who, not suspecting any violence, instantly obeyed his summons. No sooner were they within the walls, than he ordered them to be bound hand and foot, and immediately sent to Cavalla, regardless of the pursuing multitude, whom he overawed by threatening to put his captives to death.

His reward.

This resolute step procured for him the rank of Bou-louk-bashi and a rich wife, a relation of his patron the governor. As it is not uncommon among the Turks to unite the duties of a soldier with the pursuits of a merchant, Mohammed became a dealer in tobacco,—a business which he appears to have followed with considerable success till the invasion of Egypt by the French called him to fulfil a higher destiny in the scene of active warfare. The contingent of three hundred men, raised by the township of Cavalla, was placed under his command, and being now decorated with the higher title of Bin-bashi, he was every where received with the honours due to a captain of regular troops.

Success in the field.

His conduct in the field of battle soon attracted the notice of the pasha, who recommended him to Kusrouf, the governor of Cairo. After the massacre of the Mam-louks at Aboukir, the young Albanian, as has been already stated, obtained the command of a division in the army of Yousef Bey, and joined the expedition against the insurgent chiefs, which terminated so fatally to the lives as well as to the reputation of the Turks. Yousef, it has also been mentioned, accused Mohammed of miscon-

Merciless contempt of life.

Summary mode of proceeding.

Trading pursuits.

duct, or disaffection, so extremely palpable as to have been the main cause of their sanguinary defeat. Whether there was any real ground for this charge it is impossible to determine ; but at all events it was believed by Kusrouf, who resolved forthwith to expel the Cavalliot from the country, as a person in whom he could no longer place confidence.

Accused of
disaffection.

But the pasha was not aware of the character with whom he had come into collision. The pay of the troops was considerably in arrear ; and this the young officer demanded in a resolute tone, as the sole condition on which he would yield obedience. The governor sent orders that he should appear before him in the night ; to which message the Roumelian leader, not unacquainted with the object of such private interviews, returned for answer that he would show himself in broad daylight in the midst of his soldiers. Perceiving the danger with which he was threatened, Kusrouf admitted into Cairo the Albanian guards under Taher Pasha, hoping that the intrigues of the one chief would counteract those of the other. But in this expectation he was grievously disappointed ; for the mountaineers, in whatever points they might differ, were unanimous in demanding their pay and in all the measures which were suggested for compelling him to advance it. They attacked the palace, reduced the citadel, drove the governor and his household from the city, and finally deposited the viceregal power in the hands of the Pasha Taher.

Politic con-
duct of the
pasha.

Plans for
averting
danger.

The tyrannical measures of this new ruler brought his reign to a close at the end of twenty-two days, and the actual government of the country reverted to the hands of the Mamlouks, under the aged Ibrahim, Osman Bardissi, aided by Mohammed Ali. The Porte, indeed, sent a pasha of high rank to assume the direction of affairs at Cairo ; but the beys having once more the upper hand, and mindful of the cruel treachery inflicted upon them by Hassan, seized the viceroy at Alexandria, and put him to death.

Fate of the
new viceviceroy.

The undisputed ascendancy of the Mamlouks might

CHAP. VII.
Counter-
plotting of
Mohammed
Ali.

Orders of
the grand
seignior.

Disregard
of them.

Honours con-
ferred on
him.

Successful
plot for being
appointed
viceroy.

in the end have proved fatal to the Albanian captain, who did not belong to their body. For this reason he contrived to embroil Bardissy, who has been called the Hotspur of the beys, with some of his associates ; and finally attacking him with his own hand, drove him from the capital, and reinstated the exiled pasha, whom he intended to use merely as a tool for effecting his own purposes. The grand seignior, suspecting his ambitious views, issued orders, in the year 1804, that the Albanians should return into their own country ; intending, it may be presumed, to garrison the Egyptian fortresses with troops less disposed to insubordination. Mohammed, whose plans were gradually advancing towards completion, disregarded this mandate ; intimating that his services were still necessary to repress the daring designs of the Mamlouks, who continued to occupy the greater part of the kingdom, while they breathed avowed hostility against the government of the Porte. The following year a firman arrived, conferring upon him the enviable appointment of Pasha of Djidda, and of the Port of Mecca, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. On this occasion he acceded so far as to assume the mantle and cap peculiar to his new office ; but the army, prepared for the scene which ensued, flocked around him, uttering the most seditious language, and threatening immediate violence if their arrears were not discharged. Mohammed alone could rule the elements in this furious tempest. He was intreated to take upon him the duties of viceroy,—to save Egypt from rebellion and bloodshed,—and to preserve an important province to the Turkish empire. The wily Cavalliot seemed to be amazed at this proposal, and refused ; but in so faint a tone, that the petitioners were induced to repeat and urge still more strongly their request. He yielded at length to entreaties which he himself had suggested, accepted the insignia of office, and was proclaimed, by the shouts of his numerous adherents, the new representative of the sultan.*

* Webster's Travels, vol. ii. p. 56.

Kourschid Pasha, who was now in the capital, endeavoured, by inviting the dangerous aid of the Mamlouks, to oppose this nomination. But, while he was making preparations to take the field against the usurper, the capitan pasha unexpectedly cast anchor before Alexandria ; who forthwith sent orders to him to place the citadel in the hands of Mohammed, and also to repair in person, without delay, to his head-quarters on the sea-coast. Kourschid obeyed, and, after a short period of service in other quarters of the Turkish empire, lost his life.

CHAP. VII.
Opposition
of Kourschid
Pasha.

Interruption
of his plans.

The Mamlouks, who had been summoned to the standard of the governor, were unwilling to lay down their arms until they should have once more tried the fortune of war against their old enemy the reigning pasha. The latter, who was contriving a snare for these turbulent horsemen, wished nothing more ardently than that they should attack him in Cairo ; nay, he suggested to the sheiks, on whom he had the greatest reliance, to encourage the beys in their meditated assault, and even to promise them assistance should they resolve to enter the city. These impetuous soldiers, reposing implicit faith in their pretended friends, seized the first opportunity of bursting in at one of the gates, which had been opened for the purpose of admitting some countrymen with their camels. Dividing their numbers into two parties, they advanced along the streets sounding their martial instruments, and anticipating a complete triumph. But they soon discovered their mistake ; for, being attacked by the inhabitants on all sides, driven from post to post, and slaughtered without mercy, they sustained so severe a loss as from that moment to cease to be formidable. All the prisoners met the same fate ; and eighty-three heads were sent to Constantinople to grace the walls of the imperial seraglio.

Secret plans
for their
defeat.

Their suc-
cessful exe-
cution.

Severe loss.

But the Sublime Porte, unwilling that any one interest should obtain the ascendancy in Egypt, determined now to support the beys ; and accordingly a trusty pasha was despatched to Alexandria with instructions to assist

Policy of
the Sublime
Porte.

CHAP. VII. Elfy, well known by his residence in England, in his endeavours to assume the viceregal mantle, and thereby to depress the rising power of Mohammed. This envoy, upon his arrival at that port, sent a capidji-bashi to Cairo, summoning Ali to appear immediately in his presence, assuring him that his master was ready to bestow upon him the government of Salonica. The latter chief-tain had too much knowledge of the policy usually pursued in the divan to accept of such promotion. He asked those around him whether he would not show himself a fool and a craven, if, after having won the supreme station with only five hundred men at his disposal, he were to abandon his post to his enemies, now that he counted at his side fifteen hundred resolute countrymen and companions in arms. "Cairo is to be publicly sold!" he exclaimed;—"whoever will give most blows of the sabre will win it, and remain master!"

Assumed humility. His demeanour towards the pasha was, at the same time, submissive and dutiful ; he regretted that the mutinous state of the army would not permit him to obey the summons of his highness, and to have the pleasure of showing how ready he was on all occasions to bow the knee before a representative of his imperial lord. But at this very moment he was plotting with the beys, and sending large sums of money to Constantinople, to secure friends on both sides of the Mediterranean. At length the sultan, finding that Ali could not be deposed, and perceiving himself on the eve of ■ war with Russia, forwarded secret orders to his agent to make the best terms he could with the usurper, and to leave him in possession of the viceroyalty. A short time after this occurrence, the regular diploma confirming him in his office was transmitted by the Porte ; and as Elfy Bey and Bardissy, the most powerful of his enemies, died about the same period, he found himself the master of Egypt, invested with a legal title, and opposed by no one whom he had any reason to fear. To complete his conquest, indeed, he advanced into Upper Egypt to attack the Mamlouks. There he

Secret plotting.

His complete success.

defeated a large body of their troops, and was preparing to follow them, in the hope of effecting their utter annihilation at least as a political body, when he received despatches from Turkey announcing the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Ottoman empire.*

It was in the year 1807 that the English ministry sent a second expedition into Egypt, with the view of preventing that country from falling again into the hands of the French, whose ambassador at Constantinople was understood to direct the politics of the grand seignior. The number of troops under the British general did not exceed five thousand ; and it was entirely owing to the ignorance of our government with regard to the amount of the Turkish forces at Alexandria, and the strength as well as the disposition of the Mamlouks, that they exposed such a handful of men to certain destruction. The beys availed themselves of this opportunity to make their peace with Mohammed Ali, and consented to follow his standard against the invaders, who had established a footing on their coast. The melancholy result is well known. Alexandria yielded to General Fraser after a smart encounter ; but, failing in his successive attempts on Rosetta and El Hamet, the flower of his little army was cut off, wounded, or taken prisoners. Four hundred and fifty of their heads were publicly exposed at Cairo, while the unfortunate captives were treated with every species of contempt and cruelty.

The departure of the British allowed the pasha to devote his attention to the internal affairs of his turbulent province. As he relied chiefly upon the army, he had increased its numbers till the expense of maintaining it emptied his coffers, and compelled him, in order to replenish them, to resort to measures of extreme severity. He felt that his popularity was endangered ; and being convinced that the Mamlouks would embrace the first opportunity of attempting to precipitate him from the

* Webster's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67.

CHAP. VII.
Defeat of the
Mamlouks.

War with
Great Britan.

Fatal ignor-
ance of the
British go-
vernment.

Melancholy
result.

Critical
position of
the pasha.

CHAP. VII. viceregal throne, he resolved upon their final destruction, at whatever expense of candour or humanity. This horrible determination, it has been conjectured, was confirmed by the necessity imposed upon him of conducting the war against the Wahabees in Arabia,—an undertaking in which he could not engage without employing in that country his best troops and commanders. The Porte had urged him to prepare for this expedition, so important to the purity of the faith and the integrity of the empire ; and rewarded him, beforehand, by conferring upon his favourite son, Toussoun, the dignity of a pasha of the second order.

Toussoun.

This youth had by his father been appointed general of the army which was destined to serve in Arabia. The 1st day of March 1811 was named for the investiture of the new chief,—a ceremony which was to take place in the citadel. The Mamlouks were invited to share in the parade and festivities of the occasion ; and accordingly, under the command of Châhyn Bey and arrayed in their most splendid uniform, they appeared at the hall of audience, and offered to the pasha their hearty congratulations. Mohammed received them with the greatest affability. They were presented with coffee, and he directed his conversation to them individually with apparent openness of heart and serenity of countenance.

Reception
of the
Mamlouks.

The procession was ordered to move from the citadel along a passage cut out in the rock ; the pasha's troops marching first, followed by the Mamlouk corps mounted as usual. As soon, however, as they had passed the gate, it was shut behind them, while the opposite end of the defile being also closed, they were caught as it were in a trap. Soldiers had been ordered to the top of the rocks, where they were perfectly secure from any shot that might be aimed against them, while they poured down volleys upon their defenceless victims, who were butchered almost to a man. Some of them, indeed, succeeded in taking refuge in the pasha's harem, and in the house of Toussoun ; but they were all dragged forth, conducted before the kiaya bey, and beheaded on the spot. The

Massacre.

Shameless perfidy.

lifeless body of the brave Châhyn was exposed to every CHAP. VII.
infamy ; a rope being passed round the neck, the bloody Barbarous
carcass was dragged through various parts of the city. proceedings.
Mengin, who was in Cairo at the time, assures his read-
ers that the streets during two whole days bore the ap-
pearance of a place taken by assault. Every kind and Violent
degree of violence was committed under pretence of excesses.
searching for the devoted Mamlouks ; and it was not until five hundred houses were sacked, much valuable property destroyed, and many lives lost, that Ali and his son ventured out of the citadel to repress the popular fury.*

Mohammed, not without satisfaction, counted among the slain four hundred and seventy of those gallant Number of victims.
horsemen, besides their attendants who usually served on foot. The number sacrificed did not in the end fall short of a thousand ; for orders were given to pursue this devoted race into the remotest parts of the country, and, if possible, to exterminate them throughout the whole pashalic. The heads of the principal officers were embalmed, and sent as an acceptable present to the sultan at Constantinople. Only one of the beys, whose name was Amim, is understood to have escaped the massacre in Cairo. Being detained by business, he was too late to occupy his proper place in the procession, and he only arrived in the citadel at the moment when the troops were passing the gate. He waited till they had entered the fatal passage, intending afterwards to join his own troop ; but seeing the portal suddenly closed, and hearing, almost immediately after, the discharge of firearms, he put spurs to his horse and galloped out of the city. He afterwards retired with a small suite into the neighbouring provinces of Syria.

It is impossible to refrain from condemning the cruel and faithless conduct of Mohammed on this memorable occasion. He may have received orders from Estimate of the deed.

* Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Ali,
par M. Félix Mengin, &c. tome i. pp. 363, 4 5.

CHAP. VII. tinople to annihilate those ambitious and turbulent soldiers, who acknowledged no master but their own chief, and no laws except such as suited their licentious habits. But it is difficult, notwithstanding, to find an apology for the deliberate cold-hearted treachery which disgraced the execution of the imperial mandate. So little compunction, too, did he feel, when reflecting on the occurrence, that, we are told by Mengin, on being informed he was reproached by all travellers in their narratives Ali's defence. for this inhuman massacre, he replied that he would have a picture of it painted together with one of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, and leave to posterity what judgment it might pass on the two events. This retort might silence a Frenchman who had followed the standard of Bonaparte, but it goes only a very little way to remove the impression of abhorrence which must be retained by every heart not altogether insensible to those eternal distinctions whereon all moral judgments must be founded.*

* For a striking account of the massacre of the Mamlouks, see "Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati," vol. i. p. 101, &c. He varies in a few particulars from the narrative of Mengin, although in the essential points there is no material difference. The beys, he tells us, were not assembled to grace the reception of the Pelisse by the young pasha, but to consult with the viceroy about the approaching war with the Arabian schismatics; and Mengin himself relates that Toussoun was not invested with the ensigns of his office till more than a month afterwards. The chief, too, called Châhyn by the latter author, is by Finati denominated Saim,—an example of the discrepancy which arises from the practice adopted by travellers in Egypt of spelling according to the pronunciation of their respective countries.

It is remarkable that the Frenchman should have omitted an anecdote of Amim Bey, which made a great noise at the time, and was repeated to Mr W. Banks by that officer himself when he met him at a subsequent period in Syria. "This chief, who was brother to the celebrated Elfy, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation, for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been estimated at from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet fortune so favoured him, that, though the horse was killed, the rider escaped."—Finati, 110.

Sir F. Henniker says of him, "his horse leaped over the parapet,

Mohammed Ali was now at liberty to devote his attention to the state of things in Arabia, whither his son, the young pasha, had been sent to command the army. His campaign had already been crowned with several successes against the Wahabees ; he had taken the city of Medina, the keys of which his father had sent to the Porte, with large presents of money, jewels, coffee, and other valuable articles. The viceroy himself now thought it time to pay his devotions at the shrine of Mecca, and accordingly made a voyage across the Red Sea. At Djidda he was received with all kindness and hospitality by the Shereef Ghaleb ; in return for which, to gratify either his avarice or his political suspicion, he gave secret orders to Toussoun to seize and convey him to Cairo. Meanwhile he plundered the palace of immense treasures, part of which he applied to the support of the army, and part he shared with his master the sultan ; but the latter, on understanding the manner in which these splendid gifts had been acquired, had honesty enough to return them to their owner through the viceroy himself.

The various occurrences of the Arabian war are not sufficient interest to the general reader to warrant a minute detail. Suffice it to observe, that under the direction of the young chief, the Egyptian army suffered considerable reverses, and was not a little reduced both in number and spirit when Mohammed Ali himself assumed the command. His presence in the camp immediately restored discipline and confidence to such a degree that the troops longed for an opportunity to revenge their losses in the field, and, if possible, to bring the contest to the issue of a general action. Their wishes in this respect were soon gratified ; for the enemy, who had begun to despise the invaders, and even to pour upon them the most insolent and opprobrious language, were easily in-

Personal influence of Ali.

like leaping out of a four pair of stairs window. The horse was killed. The bey intrusted himself to some Arabs (Albanians according to Finati), who, notwithstanding the offer of a large reward, would not deliver him up." P. 64.

CHAP. VII.

Campaign
in Arabia.Treachery
at Djidda.Plunder of
the Palace.

CHAP. VII.

Battle of
Basille.Claim of the
Albanians.Attention
to military
tactics.Aversion to
discipline of
the native
troops.Firmness of
the govern-
ment.

duced to relinquish their position, where they could not have been attacked, and to meet the pasha on equal ground, where he could hardly fail to secure a decisive victory. The battle of Basille terminated the campaign of 1815, and opened up to the conqueror a flattering view of ultimate success. But disease found its way into his ranks ; the Albanians were fatigued and disgusted with a war of posts against barbarians still more savage than themselves ; and they did not conceal from the pasha that they expected to be relieved, and allowed to seek for health on the banks of the Nile. This politic ruler knew his countrymen too well to resist their inclinations in a matter so closely connected with their feelings ; he acknowledged the justice of their claim ; assured them that he also meant to return to Cairo ; and proceeded instantly to make arrangements for carrying his plan into execution.

The military experience which Mohammed had acquired when opposed to European armies, convinced him of the necessity of improving the tactics of his Turks and Arabs. For this purpose he employed several French soldiers, who had deserted during the expedition under Bonaparte, to introduce the new system ; and immediately a regular course of drilling was begun, and enforced, too, with a severity that only tended to exasperate the feelings of the men, and to ripen projects of resistance and revenge. From the very first the native troops regarded this discipline with the utmost jealousy and aversion, as a direct invasion of the rights and liberties of their profession. Their resentment soon burst forth against the subaltern officers, whom they assassinated in the streets, and even on parade. This, however, far from deterring the government, only led to higher degrees of constraint and compulsion, till at length the odium which had ceased to attach itself to the mere instruments of the experiment, extended to the highest authorities, and even to the ruler himself. If we *must* have the French discipline, said the discontented, let us carry the French system a little farther, and let us have

our revolution too. Accordingly, upon a day previously fixed,—the 4th August 1815,—all the troops in the neighbourhood of Cairo broke out into open mutiny and revolt, with the professed purpose of plundering the city, and putting the viceroy to death. After falling upon such of the officers as had escaped the violence directed against them individually, they marched towards the citadel in a formidable body ; and, had not the pillage of the bazars attracted their attention in the first instance, the chiefs of the government, who were quite unprepared for the attack, could hardly have found an asylum from their rage.

The pasha fortunately was not in the citadel, but in one of his palaces which stands in a large open square, near the European division of the capital. More mindful of the Franks than of his own welfare, he sent to them, upon the breaking out of the disturbance, five hundred muskets, with ammunition sufficient to serve the purpose of defence. Meanwhile, it being taken for granted that he was in the fortress, no search was made for him elsewhere ; though he had to endure many bitter hours of suspense, galled as he must have been by the ingratitude of his army, and liable every moment to be dragged forth to destruction. He was at length extricated from his perilous situation by the fidelity and courage of Abdim Bey, an Albanian, brother to Hassan Pasha, whom he had left in the command of the Arabian army. This officer bore a particular attachment to his person ; and having drawn together about three hundred of his own nation who had continued loyal, went to the palace where he was concealed, placed him under this faithful escort, and forced a passage to the citadel, where he was lodged in perfect security.

This took place late in the evening of that day of confusion and terror ; and when it was discovered that the pasha had been so long within their reach, disappointment exasperated the soldiers to fresh excesses, and a renewal of the pillage. Before morning Mohammed had proclaimed a general amnesty, on condition that the

CHAP. VII.
General
mutiny and
revolt.

Good fortune
of the pasha.

Fidelity of
Abdim Bey.

Excesses of
the soldiery.

CHAP. VII. General amnesty declared. troops should return to their duty, pledging himself, at the same time, that the obnoxious system should be discontinued, and promising to the merchants and inhabitants who had been pillaged a full compensation for their losses. This declaration produced the desired effect, and Cairo was immediately restored to a state of tranquillity and peace ; while the great number of individuals who, he had reason to suspect, were implicated in the guilt of disaffection, rendered it prudent in his highness to adhere strictly to the terms of the pardon which he had announced.

Extent and secrecy of the plot.

It could hardly be doubted that, in a rising of this nature, where there was evidently so much of concert and secrecy, there must have been some prime mover, possessing weight and influence among the soldiers ; and hence no pains were spared by the government in order to obtain information. Giovanni Finati, who was himself an actor in the scene which he describes, asserts, that no clew was ever obtained which could lead to discovery of the principal insurgents. But Belzoni, who was in Egypt at the same period, remarks, that there was reason to think the pasha knew who the chief instigators were, for it was found that several persons shortly after "died of sudden deaths, and, indeed, many of the chiefs and beys disappeared."*

Abandonment of European tactics.

No attempt appears to have been made, for some time after the failure now described, to introduce the European discipline. In the year 1821, when Sir F. Henniker was at Grand Cairo, the old system prevailed, and is amusingly exposed in the following description :— "Saw the infantry (Albanians) mustered. An attempt to drill these lawless ragamuffins occasioned the last insurrection,—no marching and counter-marching,—no playing at soldiers. They, however, suffer themselves to be drawn up in line to listen to the music, if such it may be called when produced by drums and squeaking Moorish fifes in the hands of Turks ; a number of voices

* Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, vol. ii. p. 71. Belzoni's Narrative, vol. ii. p. 9.

frequently chimed in, and destroyed the monotony ; CHAP. VII.
 during this the soldiers were quiet. It is nearly impossible to distinguish officers from privates ; every man provides himself with clothes and arms according to his means ; there is only this family likeness among them, that pistols, swords, and a shirt, outwardly exhibited, are necessary. An Albanian is not improved since the time of Alexander ; he is still a soldier and a robber. Ibrahim Pasha having, as he says, conquered the Wahabees, made his triumphal entry this morning ; first came the cavalry,—horses of all sizes, ages, colours, and qualities ; an Arab Fellah attendant upon each soldier carried a musket ; every soldier carried—a pipe ; occasionally the prelude of a kettle-drum, hammered monotonously with a short leather strap, announced a person of consequence : the consequence consisted in eight or nine dirty Arabs carrying long sticks, and screaming tumultuously ; then came the infantry, a long straggling line of Albanians ; then a flag ; then a long pole surmounted by a gilt ball ; from this suspended a flowing tail of horse-hair ; then a second flag, a second tail, a third flag, and the pasha's third tail ; the victor covered with a *white satin* gown, and a high conical cap of the same military material : this Cæsar looked like a sick girl coming from the bath. The mobility closed this Hudibrastic triumph. Having traversed the town, they vented their exultation in gunpowder. The Turkish soldiers, whether in fun or earnest, always fire with ball ; and on a day of rejoicing it commonly happens that several are killed : these *accidents* fall in general on the Franks.”*

Albanian
soldiers.

Triumph of
Ibrahim
Pasha.

In relating the triumph of Ibrahim, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events. His brother Previous events. Toussoun had some time before fallen the victim of poison or disease, whence arose the necessity of appointing a new commander of equal rank to carry on that war, already waged so long and with so little success,

* Notes during a Visit, &c. By Sir Frederick Henniker, p. 66.

CHAP. VII.

Moham-
medan
heresies

against the heretics of Derayeh. More than a century had passed since Abdul Wahab, the Socinus of the Moslems, disturbed the belief of the faithful by certain innovations in their doctrine respecting the character and offices of the Prophet. The austerity of his life drew around him a great number of followers ; and at length, finding himself sufficiently strong to brave the power of the provincial governors, he attacked, without any reserve, the rank idolatry of the wonted pilgrimages to the tomb of Mohammed, and the absurdity of putting any trust in relics, ablutions, or any outward ceremonies. He inculcated the principles of pure deism, and reduced the whole duty of man, as a religious being, to prayer and good works.

Fanatic
military
zeal.Ardour and
discipline.

Had he confined the objects of his mission to articles of faith or new modes of piety, it is not probable that the Ottoman Porte would have disturbed him in the exercise of his vocation. But as he found the use of arms necessary to convince hardened sceptics, as well as to destroy the monuments of their idolatry, he permitted the zeal of his followers to display itself in military ardour, and in the formation of disciplined bands. On one occasion his successor advanced into Persia at the head of 20,000 men, resolving to capture the city of Kirbeleh, and to lay waste the tomb of Hassan, the son of Ali, and grandson of the Prophet. The spirit of persecution breathed in all his actions ; the inhabitants were put to the sword ; and the sepulchre,—a favourite place of pilgrimage among the Persians,—was plundered and desecrated.

Success of
the fanatics.

In short, a dynasty of these fanatical warriors had established itself on the throne of Derayeh. In the beginning of the present century Abdelazeez, the son of Abdul, was murdered by a native of Kirbeleh, to revenge the indignities committed upon the holy tomb,—an event which was followed by a renewal of hostility and the shedding of much blood. His successor, Sehood, began his career of retaliation by directing the power of his arms against Bassora and Irak. The Shereef of

Mecca, who took the field in order to check his progress, was defeated in every battle, and compelled to sue for peace. But no sooner were terms concluded than the Wahabite, at the head of 40,000 men, marched to Medina, which was obliged to open its gates ; when, following up his success, he proceeded to Mecca, where he met with as little opposition. At the former city he ordered the tomb of the Prophet to be opened, whence he abstracted the numerous jewels, consisting of diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, which had been long venerated by the pious disciples of the Koran. He melted the golden vessels, the chandeliers, and vases, and, having exposed the whole to public sale, distributed the money among his soldiers. This act of daring sacrilege excited against him the indignation of every Mussulman who had not thrown off all reverence for the founder of his religion ; while his military resources, employed with so much vigour, did not fail to alarm the government at Constantinople, who immediately sent orders to the Viceroy of Egypt to chastise the presumptuous heretic, and deliver the holy city from his arms.

Defeat of
the Shereef
of Mecca.

Spoil of the
Prophet's
tomb.

But the success which finally attended the expedition of Mohammed Ali was owing to the death of Sehood rather than to the bravery or skill of the Turkish generals. The Wahabite chief was succeeded by his son Abdallah, who possessed neither talent nor courage equal to the arduous duties which he was called upon to discharge. Failing in a vain attempt at negotiation, he allowed himself to be besieged in his capital, which, after a feeble defence during three months, he was obliged to surrender, together with his own personal liberty. He was sent to Constantinople, where he was first exposed to the execration and contempt of the populace, and then deprived of his head like a common malefactor. Ibrahim is remembered as the scourge of Arabia, and the curse of Derayeh. His father, in a moment of passion against the Wahabees, had threatened to destroy their city, so that one stone of it should not be left upon another,—a menace which was executed to the

Source of
final success.

Fate of
Abdallah.

CHAP. VII
Cruelties of
Ibrahim.

Continued
spirit of
resistance.

Advantage
of European
tactics.

Persever-
ance of the
viceroy.

fullest extent. The inhabitants who escaped the sword were chased into the desert, where many of them perished ; meantime the victorious commander returned in triumph to Cairo, in the manner described by Sir Frederick Henniker.

But the severity of Ibrahim did not put an end to the Wahabite reformation, nor to the spirit of resistance by which its abettors were animated. On the contrary, the war was renewed in 1824 with as much ferocity as ever, and apparently with increased means on the part of the insurgents of bringing it to a successful issue. It was protracted during the three following years with alternate advantage ; having been, in the latter portion of that interval, allowed to slumber, owing to the struggle made by the Greeks to recover their liberty. The particulars of the several campaigns are given with considerable minuteness by Planat, who held an office under the Viceroy of Egypt, and who took upon himself to write the history of the "Regeneration" which that remarkable personage has effected in the kingdom of the Pharaohs. Suffice it to observe, that it was in a succession of battles with the Wahabees that Mohammed Ali first derived advantage from his improved system of tactics. His infantry, disciplined by French officers, and instructed in the European method of moving large masses in the field, proved decidedly superior in every conflict where the nature of the ground permitted ■ military evolution.*

It may be inferred from the statement just made, that the viceroy was not deterred by the tumult at Cairo from resuming at a proper time the plan he had already matured for introducing into his army the drill of modern Europe. Aware of the obstinacy which characterizes the Albanians, he left them to be shamed out of their awkward and inefficient system by witnessing the improvement of the other troops ; resolving to put his experiment to the test on the Fellahs of Egypt, and

* *Histoire de la Régénération de l'Egypte.* Par Jules Planat, ancien Officier de l'Artillerie de la Garde Imperiale, et chef d'Etat-Major au service du Pacha d'Egypte. Genève, 1830, p. 238.

on the still more unsophisticated natives of Sennaar and Kordofan. With this view, as well as to reduce the remoter provinces of the upper country to his obedience, he fitted out, in 1820, an expedition which he placed under the command of his son Ishmael, whom he charged with instructions for accomplishing the double purpose now stated. The success of the young general fulfilled the expectations of his aspiring relative. Thousands of captives were sent from the conquered districts to the neighbourhood of Es Souan, where they were formed into battalions, and subjected to all the restraint and fatigue of European discipline.

CHAP. VII
Expedition
against the
Upper
Country.

We are told that these unhappy beings were in the first place vaccinated, and that, as soon as they recovered from this factitious distemper, they were put into the hands of French officers to be instructed in the manual exercise and other military arts, according to the latest institutions of the Bonapartean school. The hopes of the pasha were at first greatly disappointed in these black troops. They were indeed strong and able-bodied, and not unwilling to be taught; but when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral rather than to physical causes. It appeared in numerous instances that, having been snatched away from their houses and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life; and so numerous were the deaths which ensued that, out of 20,000 of these unfortunate persons, three thousand did not remain alive at the end of two years.

Treatment
of forced
recruits.

First disappo-
intments

Fearful
mortality.

But nothing could shake the determination of the viceroy. He placed five hundred faithful Mamlouks under the charge of Colonel Sèvre, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, who were trained to fulfil the duties of officers. As the blacks, for the reasons already mentioned, were found unfit for this laborious service, he impressed, according to the rules of a national conscription, about thirty thousand Arabs and peasants, whom he sent under a military guard to Upper Egypt. Planat

Determina-
tion of the
viceroy.

New con-
scription.

CHAP VII. informs us, that in 1827 twelve regiments were organized, tolerably well clothed in a plain uniform, and armed after the manner of European soldiers ; and as it is intended that every regiment shall consist of five battalions of eight hundred men, the military establishment, in infantry alone, will amount to about fifty thousand. There are, besides, several corps of cavalry, artillery, and even marines ; which last are stationed at Alexandria, to serve on board the ships of war whenever it may be necessary to meet an enemy at sea.

Arab regiments.
Pay of officers.

Dress.

Pay of the men.

Punishment.

The colonels of regiments are extremely well paid, having allowances which amount to not less than £1500 a-year. Their dress, too, is very rich, consisting of red cloth, covered with gold lace, and a cluster of diamonds, in the form of a half-moon, on each breast. Over this they wear, on state occasions, a scarlet pelisse, which fastens over the body with two large clasps of gold set with emeralds. Their upper dress is closed with a sash ; and the Turkish full trousers have given way to a more convenient habiliment, which is tied under the knee, and fitted to the legs like gaiters. The pay of the non-commissioned officers is likewise ample ; and that of the men eighteen piastres a-month, with full rations of good provisions, and their clothing. They are now content, and even attached to the service ; while a considerable spirit of emulation prevails among them, excited in a great measure by the impartial manner in which promotion from the ranks is bestowed, according to the merit of the candidates. Nor are the men any longer liable to arbitrary punishment. Every one committing a fault must be tried before he can be bastinadoed, and generally some other penalty is inflicted, such as confinement, degradation, or hard labour. The officers, again, when they forget their duty or their character, are placed under arrest ; and even the viceroy himself does not pretend to decide as to their guilt, but leaves the result to the award of justice, regulated by martial law.

The superiority of troops prepared for the field according to the European method was, as we have already

stated, most distinctly manifested in the several campaigns which they served against the Wahabees,—a circumstance which afforded to Mohammed a degree of delight almost beyond expression. This first step in the improvement of an art, valuable above all others to a governor placed in the position which he occupies, was due almost entirely to Colonel Sève, whose name has been already mentioned. This able officer encountered much opposition from the barbarians whom he was appointed to superintend ; but, with the tact which belongs to a man who has inspected society in all its forms, he subdued the ferocity of the savage by assuming a tone more commanding than that of mere animal courage. The Mamlouks were occasionally so discontented as to threaten his life ; but he never lost his firmness ; and, by offering to meet single-handed those who conspired against his authority, he gained the respect which is always lavished by untutored minds upon fearless hardihood, and at length became a favourite among all classes of the military. Planat tells us that on one occasion, when a volley was fired, a ball whizzed past the ear of Sève. Without the slightest emotion, he commanded the party to reload their pieces. “ You are very bad marksmen,” he exclaimed ;—“ Make ready,—fire !” They fired, but no ball was heard. The self-possession of the Frenchman disarmed their resentment ; they thought him worthy of admiration ; and at length were ready to acknowledge that, in point of acquirement and professional experience, he was decidedly a better man than themselves.* He afterwards fell while serving in Greece.

The invasion of the upper provinces, by the army under the command of Ishmael, belongs to the history of Nubia rather than to that of Egypt ; for which reason we shall not enter into its details at present farther than to state that, owing to an insult inflicted upon one of the native chiefs, this favourite son of Mohammed Ali

CHAP. VII.
Success
against the
Wahabees.

Colonel
Seve.

Courage and
firmness.

Cool self-
possession.

Invasion
of Upper
Egypt.

* *Histoire de la Régénération*, p. 28.

CHAP. VII. was cut off by a most miserable death. The cottage in which he and his personal attendants had taken up their quarters was surrounded with a mass of combustible materials, and burnt to the ground ; no one escaping through the flames except the physician, who was reserved for more protracted suffering. Ibrahim, the conqueror of Derayeh, avenged in some degree the murder of his brother, and even extended the dominion of the Egyptian arms into districts which neither the Persians nor the Romans had ventured to penetrate. But the affairs of Greece, which began to occupy the full attention of the Porte, supplied a new theatre for the military talent of his lieutenant, who, at the command of his father, withdrew his troops from the deserts of Dongola and Kordofan to transport them to the more sanguinary fields of the Morea.

Campaigns in Greece and Syria.

It belongs not to this narrative to record even incidentally the events of the war to which we have just referred ; nor perhaps is it more incumbent upon us to describe the occurrences which at a later period marked the progress of hostilities in Syria. There is, however, this difference in the two undertakings, namely, that in the former the Viceroy of Egypt fought under the banners of his imperial master ; whereas in the other case he sent forth his armies against him.

Abdallah, Pasha of Acre.

In the year 1832, Abdallah, the pasha of Acre, gave offence to Mohammed by receiving into his service certain discontented Arabs who had deserted the Egyptian flag. The latter, who was not unwilling to find a pretext for a quarrel with his restless neighbour, sent Ibrahim against him at the head of a powerful army. As the sultan had not been consulted in these proceedings by either of his lieutenants, he no sooner heard that Acre was besieged, than he issued a firman, commanding both of them to lay down their arms. In particular, positive orders were sent to the government of Cairo to withdraw the invading troops from Syria, and commissioners were at the same time despatched thither to enforce the injunctions of the divan. But these instruc-

Death of Ishmael.

Revenge of Ibrahim.

War in the Morea.

Siege of Acre.

tions were not regarded by either of the belligerent parties ; and the Grand Seignior, accordingly, doubting the fidelity of his ambitious vassal, directed armies to march and fleets to be equipped, in order to chastise him as a rebel. Mohammed treated these menaces with contempt, and in defiance of them proceeded to mature his plans for realizing the two great objects of the campaign,—the humiliation of his rival and the extension of his own power along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.

The Egyptian army, which amounted to about fifty thousand men, had already reduced the important towns of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa ; but Acre, where Abdallah commanded in person, made a successful resistance during several months against all the efforts of his enemy by land and by sea. Expecting that relief would be sent by the Porte, he refused to surrender the place, though battered to a mass of ruins. A Turkish force, indeed, under a leader named Osman, had advanced to Tripoli, but upon hearing that part of Ibrahim's troops were moving to attack him, he sought safety in a hasty flight, leaving behind his ammunition, artillery, and provisions. Disappointed in this aid, the governor of Acre found it necessary to listen to terms of accommodation, and, in the month of May, opened his gates to the besiegers.

Aware that he had now provoked the utmost resentment of the sultan, the viceroy, instead of soliciting forgiveness, resolved to set his power at defiance ; and, accordingly, having reinforced the army, he gave orders to his son to march upon Damascus. He arrived there on the 14th June, and found under its walls a considerable force, cavalry as well as infantry ; but the terror of his name threw such dismay into their ranks, that they fled on the first attack, leaving the city an easy prey to the conquerors. Having refreshed his troops, Ibrahim pushed on to Aleppo without encountering any resistance ; nor was it till he had encamped on the banks of the Orontes that he perceived the enemy had formed

Indignation
of the sultan.
Success of
the Egyptian
army.

Resolute
stand of
Abdallah.

Independ-
ence of the
viceroy.

Assault of
Damascus.

CHAP. VII. a resolution to check his progress. At the village of Homs, twenty thousand men were assembled under a Turkish general, prepared to risk the chance of a battle rather than allow the whole of Syria to fall under the dominion of Mohammed. The governor of the province, who assumed the chief command, led his followers to the onset with an air of much determination ; but finding that his undisciplined bands, unequal to the duties of regular warfare, could not keep the field against the veteran soldiers of his adversary, he retired with great loss of life, as well as of cannon, ammunition, and provisions.

Antioch.

Motives for perseverance.

When the Egyptian leader arrived at Antioch, he was informed that Hassan Pasha, at the head of thirty thousand warriors, had taken his station at Beilan to guard the passes which penetrate Mount Taurus. Undeterred by such preparations, the invader resolved to make an attack on the Turkish lines ; being desirous to establish himself in Caramania, where he had no doubt the Sultan would be ready to listen to such terms as he might deem it expedient to propose for the settlement of their affairs. The policy of this measure was proved by the result. Advancing with a powerful train of artillery, he soon silenced the batteries opposed to him, and rushing on the foe, already stunned by his success, he drove them from the heights at the point of the bayonet. The army of Hassan was rather dispersed than subdued, though no exertions on his part could collect more than one-third of the fugitives, even after the pursuit had ceased.

*Uninter-
rupted
success.*

*The Grand
Vizier's
movement.*

No obstacle now remained to prevent the victor from scaling that vast barrier which protects the empire of the Osmanlis on its eastern border. The Porte therefore determined to make one great effort to stop the progress of the enemy ; and, with this view, a force amounting to sixty thousand men was placed under the direction of the Grand Vizier himself, who immediately commenced a movement in search of his antagonist. The two hosts met on the 21st December 1832, when a conflict ensued, which, after a sanguinary struggle, terminated in the

complete defeat of the Turks. On both sides the slaughter CHAP. VII.
was prodigiously great ; but the vizier, who was wounded
and taken prisoner, saw himself, towards the close of Total defeat
the day, entirely deprived of an army, most of his men
who had escaped the sword having either fled or joined
the standard of Egypt.

The triumph achieved at Koniah would probably Interposition
have thrown Constantinople into the hands of the conqueror, had not Russia interposed to ward off an event of Russia.
which might at once have proved fatal to the Ottoman sovereignty. But although Ibrahim found it expedient to withdraw his victorious battalions from Caramania, and to relinquish all the advantages he had gained beyond Mount Taurus, he was allowed, in the name of his father the viceroy, to retain all the conquests he had made in the Syrian provinces. Attached to the Europeans, though not blind to the objects which occupy the deliberations of their several cabinets, the Egyptian pasha, it was manifest, would become a powerful ally to any aspiring government situated near the shores of the Mediterranean which should be induced to undertake the conquest of Turkey. Hence arose the mediation of the czar, who did not fail to perceive that the success of a rebellious vassal on the Nile might endanger the peace and even disturb the boundaries of the principal nations on the Continent.

But Mohammed Ali has not confined his conquests to Extent of
the Syrian provinces and the Holy Land. He has also Mohammed's
conquests.
conquered and occupied with his troops the whole line Possession of
of the Arabian coast, from Akaba on the north, to Mocha,
near the Straits of Babelmandeb at the southern extremity of the Red Sea. It is true that, with the exception of Mecca and the fertile district of Taif, eastward of Djidda, his dominion does not extend above two miles from the seashore ; but his soldiers garrison all the chief towns and ports on the margin of the Arabian gulf, from the isthmus of Suez down to the waters of the Indian ocean. Owing to his possessing these places, the pasha commands the whole commerce of Yemen and the Hed-

CHAP. VII.
Advantages
from his
conquests.
Courage of
the Aseers.

Defeat of the
Egyptian
army.

Indignation
of the pasha.

Effects of the
climate.

Arabian
campaign.

jaz, the two principal provinces in that country. He has not yet extended his arms into the fertile district of Senna,—an instance of forbearance which is not to be ascribed to any feeling of justice or moderation on his part, but entirely to the courage of the Aseers, a Bedouin tribe, who have hitherto nobly defended the independence of their native land.

In the campaign of 1835, the Egyptian army, under the command of the younger Ibrahim, the viceroy's nephew, was repeatedly defeated by those warlike barbarians, and driven back with great loss. Irritated by these disasters, the pasha made extensive preparations for the following year; determined to subdue an undisciplined horde who had inflicted disgrace upon troops before whom the legions of the sultan had not been able to make a successful stand. He formed several *corps d'armée* at Gonfode, Djidda, and Mecca, which advanced against the Aseers immediately after the ceremonies of the annual pilgrimage were concluded. But the difficulties which his commanders had to encounter could not be overcome by discipline, nor by any of the usual resources of civilized warfare. Hunger, thirst, and intolerable heat, were more formidable than the arrows of the Bedouins, and proved more fatal to the soldiers. When suffering under the most severe privations that human nature can endure, the enemy were wont to descend suddenly upon them from fastnesses which appeared inaccessible, and committed great havock among their ranks.

Still Mohammed seems determined to persevere. His army in Arabia at present is estimated at about 20,000 infantry, and 2000 horse, with a suitable proportion of artillery, engineers, sappers, and miners. According to the latest accounts, the head-quarters were at Mecca, where Koershid, another nephew of the pasha, resided as commander-in-chief. Ibrahim, the younger, who is governor of Yemen, was stationed with 6000 men at Hodeida. Mocha is garrisoned by 1200 men, and the ramparts of the town are defended by some old pieces of cannon.

Gonfode, a place of some consequence on the coast, was CHAP. VII
 occupied by a division of 3000 or 4000 infantry, in con- Division at
 sequence of its proximity to the wild country inhabited Gonfode.
 by the Aseers. Loheia, Yembo, Medina, and other towns on the western coast of Arabia, have each a small garrison, to protect them from the inroads and predatory attacks of the same dreaded class of Bedouins. In all these places there is a civil governor as well as a military commandant; the one acting as a check upon the other, and thus preventing all abuse of power.

It is said that, when the viceroy shall have conquered the restless Arabs, or, what is more likely to happen, quelled their turbulent spirit by bribes and promises, it is his intention to send a detachment of his army from Mocha to Aden, outside the straits, to take possession of that ancient seaport, which possesses two excellent harbours, and commands the entrance into the Red Sea. It is at present governed by a marauding sheik, who could not make a steady or prolonged resistance to the troops of the pasha; and though it is part of the principality of Senna, the authority of the Imam, the hereditary chief, is hardly recognised. Having made himself master of Aden, the ambitious ruler of Egypt will unquestionably make an effort to extend his dominion over Hadramaut, a province reaching to the southern shore of Arabia, and at present divided among a number of petty princes, who are too weak to oppose his progress. Marching along the coast, his soldiers will enter Oman, and eventually occupy Muscat and the country on the south-western side of the Persian gulf, thus subjecting to his sway the whole of the Arabian peninsula. After such successes, the conquest of Bagdad would prove easy.

It is rumoured in the political circles of Cairo, that Mohammed Ali, having heard of the power and grandeur of the ancient caliphat, longs to found an empire in the east which shall rival it in military strength as well as in princely splendour. The Imam looks with considerable jealousy and apprehension on his proceedings at

CHAP. VII.

Conciliation
of England.English
interests.Indian
communi-
cation.Influence of
the viceroy.

Mocha, and his projected march to Aden ; and it is supposed that his recent present of a line-of-battle ship to William IV., was made with the view of conciliating the friendship of the British government, in case his territory should be invaded by his powerful neighbour. The policy of the English cabinet, it is presumed, will not allow his Highness to extend his conquests as far as Muscat, as well on the ground of justice to the Imam as on that of precaution with regard to our Indian possessions. It is even doubtful whether a strict regard to consequences, even as affecting our immediate interests, would permit him to seize Aden. His administration, it is true, is every where acknowledged to be better than that of the lawless sheiks ; but if, on the mere principle of humanity, it may be considered expedient to establish a regular government, which shall secure protection to life and property, it would then become a question, whether the British themselves, so superior to the Egyptians in power and civilisation, should not take possession of that port, the noble harbours of which would so materially forward their plans of steam-navigation to India. Besides giving our countrymen a power and consequence in Arabia and Abyssinia which they do not at present enjoy, it would be the means of extending knowledge and true religion amongst a people who are at present immersed in the profoundest ignorance. We are assured, as a thing most certain, that either Mohammed or some other powerful state will soon possess themselves of Aden, and all the principal seaports in the same quarter ; for it is utterly impossible that they can long remain in their present barbarous condition.*

The viceroy has, no doubt, done some good in Arabia ; for under his rule every man's life and substance are secure from aggression, always excepting that which his

* Since this account was penned, Aden has become a British port. The victorious Mohammed has been succeeded by his son, on the throne of Egypt, and never interests and revolutions, occupy the attention of British and European Cabinets.

Highness may himself commit with impunity. It is CHAP. VII. not probable, however, that the sway of the Egyptian ^{Arab dislike} ~~of the Turks~~ dynasty will be long endured, for the Turks are not popular among the Arabs, and the rude tribes whom the pasha has subdued are already sighing for their ancient independence. Ibrahim, his son and destined successor, being a man of vigorous mind and good talent, may for a time keep together the scattered portions of his extensive dominions ; but there is reason to apprehend, that at no distant period the whole fabric will fall to pieces, the government not being founded in the affections of the people.

These considerations, however, being foreign to our Mohammed Ali. undertaking, we shall conclude this chapter with a brief outline of the character of that remarkable person who at present fills the viceregal throne of Egypt, and whose genius seems destined to accomplish a more permanent change on the condition of that country than has been effected by conquest or revolution since the days of Alexander the Great.

Perhaps the actions of this ruler are the best expression of his views and feelings, and might alone be appealed to as a proof of an elevated and aspiring mind, still clouded indeed with some of the darkest shades of his original barbarism, and not unfrequently impelled by the force of passions which are never allowed to disturb the tranquillity of civilized life. He is now rather more than sixty years of age, short in stature, with a high forehead and aquiline nose, and altogether possessing an expression of countenance which shows him to be no ordinary man. His dress is usually very plain ; the only expense which he allows himself in matters connected with his person being lavished upon his arms, some of which are studded with diamonds. Like Bonaparte, his outward appearance seems to have changed considerably with the progress of his years ; for although, when between thirty and forty, he was described by a British traveller as " of a slender make, sallow complexion, and under the middle size," he is reported by ^{Personal appearance.} ^{Change in later life.}

CHAP. VII. the latest visitors to have become "thick-set," and somewhat full in the figure.

Description by an observer.

"On our arrival being announced," says an author whom we have already quoted, "we were immediately ushered into his presence, and found him sitting on the corner of the divan, surrounded by his officers and men, who were standing at a respectful distance. He received us sitting but in the most gracious manner, and placed the Earl of Belmore and Mr Salt upon his left hand, and his lordship's two sons and myself at the top of the room on his right. The interpreter stood, as well as the officers and soldiers, who remained in the room during the whole time of the visit. He began the conversation by welcoming us to Cairo, and prayed that God might preserve us, and grant us prosperity. He then inquired of the noble traveller how long he had been from England, and what was the object of his journey to Egypt; to all which he received satisfactory answers. His highness next adverted to the prospect before him, the Nile, the grain-covered fields, the Pyramids of Djizeh, the bright sun, and the cloudless sky, and remarked, with a certain triumphant humour on his lip, that England offered no such prospect to the eye of the spectator."

Egyptian prospects.

English scenery.

Politeness.

He was told that the scenery of England was very fine. "'How can that be,' he shortly rejoined, 'seeing you are steeped in rain and fog three quarters of the year?'—He next turned the conversation to Mr Leslie's elegant experiment of freezing water in the vacuum of an air-pump; which he had never seen, but admired prodigiously in description, and seemed to anticipate with great satisfaction a glass of lemonade and iced water for himself and friends, as the happiest result of the discovery. Talking of his lordship's intended voyage up the Nile, he politely offered to render every possible facility; cautioning him at the same time to keep a sharp look-out when among the Arabs, who, he believed, would not take any thing from him or his party by violence, but would certainly steal if they found an opportunity of doing it without the risk of detection. He then related a number of anec-

dotes, touching the petty larcenies of that most thievish CHAP. VII.
race ; some of which were by no means without con- Anecdotes of
trivance or dexterity. But the one which seemed to the Arabs.
amuse both himself and his friends the most, was that of
a traveller, who, when eating his dinner, laid down his
spoon to reach for a piece of bread, and by the time he Extreme
brought back his hand the spoon was away ; the knife dexterity.
and fork soon shared the same fate ; and the unfortunate
stranger was at length reduced to the sad necessity of
tearing his meat, and lifting it with his fingers and thumb
like the Arabs themselves. Many persons were near,
but no one saw the theft committed ; and all search for
the recovery of the property was in vain.—We now took
leave of the viceroy, leaving him in the greatest good
humour ; he said we might go every where, and see
every thing we wished, and that he hoped to have the
pleasure of seeing us again.”*

In reference to the freezing experiment, we may men- Freezing
tion that Mohammed Ali, very soon after the visit now apparatus.
described, obtained from England, through Mr Salt, the
requisite apparatus. The machine on its arrival was
conveyed to his palace, and some Nile water was pro- Delight of
cured for the purpose. He hung over the whole opera- Mohammed
tion with intense curiosity ; and when, after several Ali.
disappointments, a piece of real ice was produced, he took
it eagerly in his hand, and danced round the room for
joy like a child, and then ran into the harem to show it
to his wives.†

No one has attempted to conceal that there is in the His mixed
character of this personage, intermingled with many good character.
qualities, a deep tincture of barbarism and fierceness.
Impatient of opposition, and even of delay, he occasionally gives himself up to the most violent bursts of passion ; and in such moments there is hardly any cruelty which he will not perpetrate or command. For instance, some time ago he had ordered that the dollar should pass

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. p. 101.

† Carne's Letters from the East, vol. i. p. 80.

CHAP. VII.

Arbitrary
cruelty.Vain inter-
cession.Hosseyn
Aga.

Mutilation.

Occasional
moderation.Extravagant
frolic.

for a fixed number of piasters, and it was mentioned in his presence that this rule was not strictly followed. His highness expressed some doubt of the fact, when the chief interpreter carelessly observed that a Jew broker, whom he named, had ■ few days before exchanged dollars for him at the rate asserted.—“ Let him be hanged immediately,” exclaimed the pasha! The interpreter, an old and favourite servant, threw himself at his sovereign’s feet, deprecating his own folly, and imploring pardon for the wretched culprit. But all intercession was in vain ; the viceroy said his orders must not be disregarded, and the unfortunate Hebrew was instantly led to his death.*

We find proofs of a similar sally at Djidda, where he appears to have used his own hands to inflict a punishment which he thought it inexpedient to remit. Hosseyn Aga, the agent for the East India Company, resident in that town, was, says a recent traveller, a remarkably fine-looking man, displaying an air of dignity mixed with hauteur ; handsomely clad, too, though the heavy folds of his muslin turban were studiously drawn over his right eye to conceal the loss of it,—for Mohammed Ali one day in a fit of rage pulled it out! Yet these men are friends,—great friends just at present, and will remain so as long as it may be convenient and agreeable to both parties to consider each other in that light.†

But the master of Egypt is not at all times so ferocious. For example, when Mrs Lushington was at Alexandria, intelligence was brought to him that a small fort at the entrance of the harbour had been taken possession of by certain Franks, and that the Turks belonging to it had been made prisoners. Some consternation prevailed among his people ; but instead of being angry he laughed heartily, and swearing by his two eyes,—his favourite oath,—that they must be English sailors, he directed his interpreter to write to their captain, to order his men on

* Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe, p. 179.

† Journey Overland, vol. i. p. 306.

board ship again. Upon inquiry it proved as the pasha CHAP. VII.
had anticipated ; the men had landed, got drunk, and Turkish
crowned their liberty by seizing on the fort, and confin-
ing the unfortunate Turks, who, indolently smoking
their pipes, never could have anticipated such an attack
in time of profound peace. He evinced equal self-com-
mand, and still more magnanimity, when he first heard Self-com-
of the event which destroyed his infant navy and hum-
bled his power. We allude to the battle of Navarino.
mand.
He had not finished the perusal of the unwelcome de-
spatches, when he desired a European consul to assure his
countrymen and all the other Franks that they should
not be molested, but might pursue their wonted occupa-
tions in perfect security.

Among the ships lying in the harbour was the wreck Singular act
of one of the pasha's own vessels. The captain had
committed some crime which was represented by his
crew to the viceroy, who ordered him immediately on
shore to answer his accusers. Conscious of guilt he pre-
tended sickness, till a second message from the same
quarter left him no alternative ; and unable longer to
shun his fate, he sent all his crew ashore, and calling to
an old and faithful servant, the only person on board,
he bade him jump out of the port into the sea ; at the
same time, having loaded two pistols, he fired into the
magazine, and blew up the ship and himself together.
When the story was related to the pasha, he said,
“ These are Frank customs ; this is dying like an Eng-
lishman ! ”*

There is something characteristic in the following Notice of Sir
notice by Sir F. Henniker, who remarks, that the pasha F. Henniker.
appeared to him to have a vulgar low-born face, but a
commanding intelligent eye. “ He received us in the
court-yard, seated on a sofa and wielding a pipe, dressed
like a private individual, as Turks of real consequence
generally are, excepting on gala days. The vice-consul and
myself sat down on the sofa with him. Pipes are not of-

* Narrative p. 191.

CHAP. VII. fered except to equals ; coffee served up,—no sugar, even though the pasha himself has a manufactory of that article,—the attendants ordered to withdraw ; no pride, no affectation, even though the pasha is an upstart. Remained nearly an hour discoursing on English horses, military force, the emerald-mines at Cosseir, his son's victory over the Wahabees, and his expected triumphal entry.”*

Moderation
in later life.

Prompt
justice.

Untenable
defence.

European
estimate of
Mohammed.

It is generally stated, that since Mohammed Ali has felt himself secure in the pashalic he has ceased to be cruel. Seldom now does he take away life, and never with torture ; and if his subordinate officers were as well disposed as himself, the people, notwithstanding the oppressive taxes, would feel their property more secure. One instance of his prompt justice excited much astonishment ; although a slower and more regular method would not, it is probable, in a nation so completely disorganized, have produced an equal effect. A chief who had not been long accustomed to the government of the viceroy, punished one of his own servants with death. He was called before the imperial deputy, and being asked by what authority he had committed this outrage, he thought it enough to urge in his defence that the man was his own servant. True, retorted the pasha, but he was my subject ; and, in the same breath, passed sentence that the culprit should be immediately beheaded,—an effectual warning to the rest of the grantees present. This act of severity has saved the lives of many of the Arabs, who, in former times, were sacrificed by their Turkish masters on the most trifling pretences.

In short, Mohammed is well spoken of by most European travellers, though in general they estimate his character by too high a standard,—the principles and habits of their own countries. There is only one author whose impression was rather unfavourable :—“ I sat in the divan,” says he, “ with my eyes fixed on him ; I

* Notes, p. 63.

wanted to examine the countenance of a man who had realized in our day one of those scenes in history which, when we have perused it, always compels us to lay down the book and recover ourselves. There he sat,—a quick eye, features common, nose bad, a grizzled beard, looking much more than fifty, and having the worn complexion of that period of life. They tell you he is not sanguinary ; men grow tired of shedding blood as well as of other pleasures ; but if the cutting off a head would drop gold into his coffers, he would not be slow to give the signal. His laugh has nothing in it of nature ; how can it have ? I hear it now,—a hard, sharp laugh, such as that with which strong heartless men would divide booty torn from the feeble. I leave him to his admirers.”*

CHAP. VII.
Description of him.

His disposition.

“ In the usages of the table,” says Mr Carne, “ he is still an Osmanli ; knives, forks, and other useful appendages, never make their appearance at his meals. About five years ago some English travellers were graciously received by him, and pressingly invited to dine. But not even in compliance with the taste of his guests would he depart from his own habits ; for, wishing to show a noble lady particular attention, he took a large piece of meat in his hand, and politely placed it before her. Perfectly dismayed at the compliment, and the sight of the savoury morsel which rested on her plate, she turned to her companion, who was more used to oriental manners, and earnestly asked what she was to do. ‘ Eat it to be sure,’ was the reply. She looked at the pasha ; his fine dark eye seemed to rest on her with a most kind and complacent expression ; and there was no help for it but to follow the excellent advice given her by her more experienced friend.”†

Eastern habits.

Singular compliment.

That Mohammed Ali is a despot, and even in some respects a barbarian, cannot be denied ; but there is, notwithstanding, in all of his institutions so much of wis-

Virtues of
Mohammed
Ali.

* *Scenes and Impressions*, p. 176.

† *Recollections of the East*, p. 288.

CHAP. VII.
Redeeming
features of
his policy.

Defence of
his excesses.

dom and patriotism that he unquestionably deserves to occupy a high place among those adventurers who have so well profited by revolutions as to raise themselves to a throne. His ambition, though dishonoured by the means which he has occasionally found it necessary to adopt, is, on the whole, of the right kind, and has all along been directed to the promotion of the national welfare rather than to his own personal aggrandizement. If he has dyed his hands in blood, it has been in that of the worst enemies of Egypt ; and if he has in numerous cases had recourse to arbitrary government, his object, it must be acknowledged, has ever been the security and improvement of the distracted country over which it has been his lot to preside.*

* The effects of his policy will be considered at greater length towards the close of the next chapter, where an occasion will present itself for estimating the wisdom of his government as displayed in the actual condition of Egypt.

CHAPTER VIII.

*Actual State of Egypt under the Government of
Mohammed Ali.*

Nature of Innovations—Members of Government—Household—Tenure of Land—Resumption of it by the Pasha—Condition of the People—Army—Number of Men in Arms—Navy—Military Schools—Nautical Schools—European Arts—Canal of Mahmoudieh—Introduction of Cotton Manufactures—Exportation of the raw Material to England—Fear of Plague—Silk, Flax, Sugar—Monopoly of Viceroy—Disadvantages of it—Caravans—Imports and Exports—Revenue and Expenditure—Population—Copts, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews, and Syrians—Characteristics—Cairo—Houses—Citadel—Joseph's Well, Joseph's Hall—Necropolis—Tombs—Mosques—Palace at Shoubra—Splendid Pavilion—Comparison of Egypt before and under the Government of Mohammed Ali—Future Prospects under his Successor.

IN a country where the administration of law depends CHAP. VIII.
almost entirely upon the character of an individual, and where at the same time the nomination to the supreme authority is usually determined by intrigue or in the field of battle, the mere form of government cannot be of very much consequence. But the sagacity of the present ruler of Egypt,* who is aware of the influence exerted on the minds of men by custom and the use of certain modes of speech, has dictated to him the expediency of innovating less in the outward structure of the constitution than in those internal parts whence all real power is derived, and by means of which it is diffused to the remotest extremity of the vast province of which he has assumed the command. Although virtually in

Comparative
insignifi-
cance of the
forms of
despotic
government.

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the sagacious ruler of Egypt has died since this was written, and that his son has peacefully succeeded to the throne of Egypt.

CHAP. VIII. dependent, he has hitherto continued a formal acknowledgment of that superiority which belongs to the head of the Ottoman empire ; and while he wields the sceptre with as little restriction as the most arbitrary of oriental despots, he carefully preserves the appearance of only sharing with others a portion of a delegated authority.

Subordinate officers.

The administration is in the hands of the following officers :—*1st*, The Kiaya Bey, who may be called the prime minister ; *2d*, The Aga of the Janizaries, or chief of the war department ; *3d*, The Ouali, or head of the military police ; *4th*, The Mohtesib, or superintendent of the markets ; and, *5th*, The Bash-aga, or master of the civil police. In every district there is also a headsman, who is authorized to determine differences by arbitration, and watch over the peace and good order of his neighbourhood. All fees have been abolished, and competent salaries are appointed ; and so effectually are these duties performed that the streets of Cairo are as safe as those of London, except on occasions, which now very seldom occur, when the military break loose for want of pay, or to revenge some professional grievance. All criminal prosecutions are settled by a cadi or judge, who is sent annually from Constantinople, and assisted by a number of sheiks, or other persons learned in the law. A civil process is stated to cost four per cent. of the value in dispute ; of which the cadi takes four-fifths to himself, and gives one-fifth to the legal assessors who have aided him in the decision.

Household of the viceroy.

Besides the public officers now mentioned, there are others attached to the household of the viceroy, such as the treasurer, the sword-bearer, the inspector of provisions, the commandant of the citadel, and the superintendent of customs and excise, who in Egypt act under the immediate direction of the head of the government.

Body-guard.

There is also a body-guard, consisting of four hundred Mamlouks, to which may be added six hundred gentlemen of the privy-chamber, as they are called, or yeomen of the palace. Including all the subordinate functionaries in the civil and military departments, the domestic

establishment of the pasha comprehends not fewer than CHAP. VIII.
fifteen hundred individuals.

So numerous and rapid are the changes to which Egypt has been subjected under a succession of dynasties, and even of foreign conquerors, that it is extremely difficult to ascertain on what tenure the land was held, in the early ages of the monarchy, by the persons who devoted their labour and capital to its cultivation. We know that the Pharaoh who reigned in the days of Joseph transferred to the crown a large portion of it, by supplying to the famished peasantry a quantity of corn in return for their fields; and hence we may infer, that, prior to the date at which this transaction took place, a distinct property in the soil was recognised by the Egyptian sovereigns. But, during the long interval which has elapsed since the Macedonian conquest, it is probable that the territorial domain was occupied upon conditions similar to those which were implied in the ancient system of fiefs at one time universal throughout Europe,—a certain portion of the annual produce, whether in kind or in the form of a money-rent, being made payable to him whose sword, or whose influence with the monarch, had procured to him the feudal superiority.

Before the accession of Mohammed Ali, the representative of the sultan was satisfied with a *miri*, or land-tax, according to the quality and other advantages of the soil, and had even acknowledged in some of the occupants a right almost equivalent to that of a permanent owner. The present viceroy, however, has taken into his own hands the greater part of the territorial possessions; granting, in name of compensation, a yearly pension for life to the several Moultezims, or proprietors, whom he has thus deprived, but leaving to them nothing which they can bequeath to their children or heirs. The lands which he has seized in the way now described, belonged, generally speaking, *first*, to the Mamlouks, whom, except in their capacity of soldiers, he wishes to extirpate; *secondly*, to certain establishments for

Ancient
tenure of
land.

Later
customs.

Land-tax.

Seizure of
land.

CHAP. VIII. feeding the poor, or for supporting mosques, fountains, Endowments. public schools, and other national charities ; and, finally, to the ancient class of feuars, in whose management or principles he could not be induced to repose a sufficient

Government claims. degree of confidence. But it is added, that even the owners of those lands which have not yet been seized are not masters of their crops ; they cannot dispose of any part of them until the agents of government have taken what portion they may think proper at their own price ; and, in place of the established *miri*, all the families attached to the court are served with agricul-

Alienation of agricultural produce. tural produce at half its value, while the pasha regulates the price of all that can be spared for exportation. Such a system will fully explain the observation of M. Mengin, that “the traveller sees with astonishment the richness of the harvests contrasted with the wretched state of the villages ;” and that, “if it be true that there is no country more abundant in its territorial productions, there is none perhaps whose inhabitants on the whole are more miserable.”*

Fellahs. As to the agricultural labourers, or Fellahs, the innovations of the pasha have probably left them in nearly the same state in which, as far as history goes, they appear always to have been, with the additional disadvantage, if such it must be esteemed, of submitting to the military conscription. But perhaps, although in appearance the most tyrannical measure that Mohammed has enforced in the progress of his regeneration, the establishment of a standing army is not an evil of an unmixed nature. Heretofore the sword has been exclusively in the hands of foreigners, originally slaves of the most degraded caste, and afterwards the most haughty and insatiable of masters ; while at present the natives are taught the use of arms ; are permitted to rise in the service according to a scale of merit ; and are, in short, put in possession of means whereby they may

Use of the standing army.

* Histoire de l’Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Ali, &c. &c. Par M. Félix Mengin.

protect their own rights against the avarice of the Turks CHAP. VIII.
and the insolence of the Mamlouks.

We have already stated, on the authority of the latest work which has been published on Egypt, that the pasha has formed twelve regiments of infantry, consisting each of five battalions, and including, when on the war establishment, forty-eight thousand men.* We presume that he has hitherto satisfied himself with little more than half that number of foot-soldiers,—a large proportion of whom are drawn from the Arab population, and even from the conquered districts of Sennaar and Kordofan. Planat, who held a high office in the viceroy's staff, speaks favourably of the negroes in point of bodily strength, faithfulness, and sobriety, while he ascribes all the difficulties which were encountered by the Europeans appointed to introduce the new discipline, to the apathy, the self-conceit, and religious prejudices of the superior order of Turks. But so far as we consider the condition of the people at large, who are thus rendered liable to be called from their mud hovels to the camp, the improvement in food and clothing seems no inadequate compensation for the precarious liberty of which they are temporarily deprived.

Egypt, it has been remarked, is much more easily governed than Arabia. The inhabitants of the former country, being chiefly confined to the narrow valley of the Nile, live in contiguous villages, and are therefore managed with greater facility than scattered tribes roaming over a vast extent of wilderness. Agriculture is the chief pursuit of the Egyptian peasants,—an employment

* Planat informs us, that in 1826 six regiments were fully equipped, amounting in all to 24,000. "L'armée se forma alors par régimens, de cinq bataillons chacun, à 800 hommes par bataillon, ce qui donnait un effectif de 24,000 hommes. Les six régimens reçurent leurs numéros et leurs drapeaux." *Régénération de l'Egypte*, p. 39.

Mr Wagram, in his work entitled "Egypt as it is in 1837," estimates the pasha's army at 100,400 regulars, and 13,450 irregular troops: whereof 12,400 regulars and 1900 of the latter force were in Hedjaz and Yemen.

CHAP. VIII. which, while it inspires the love of peace, renders them
 Indifference industrious and attached to their homes. Besides, as a
 to a foreign long time has elapsed since they could boast of a native
 yoke. government, they do not feel so sensibly as their brethren
 of the desert the galling chains of a foreign yoke. As
 to the country, therefore, in which his sovereignty is
 placed, Mohammed feels no apprehension. For this
 reason, a soldier is very seldom seen, except at Alexan-
 dria, Cairo, and Siout, the three principal towns, where
 nurseries of the army are established.

Infantry uniform.

Cannon foundery.

Small arm manufactory.

Fleet.

The infantry, says a late traveller, are well clothed in the Nizam dress, a modification of the Turkish costume, introduced by Ibrahim after the war in the Morea. Their muskets are made in the capital, after a French model, and are lighter and more handy than the British. Their cartridge-boxes, powder, and ball, are all in excellent order. They are principally drilled, those at least who are meant for the service in Arabia, as light troops, with the view of being better prepared to cope with their irregular and undisciplined foes the Aseers. In the citadel of Cairo is the cannon foundry. There are both English and French models in the establishment, but the pasha prefers the latter, and all the guns now made are in exact accordance with the Parisian pattern. There are pieces of twelve, nine, six, and four pounds calibre, all beautifully cast, and reflecting the highest credit on the artists. In the small-arm manufactory there are many thousand stands of muskets, besides pistols, bayonets, and sabres for the cavalry. We mention these circumstances because they denote not only a warlike disposition on the part of the government, but also the means of extending and confirming the conquests already made along the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean and the farther shore of the Red Sea.*

From the same authority we learn that the fleet lying at anchor in the harbour of Alexandria consists of five or

* Some of these details have been collected from a communication made by Captain Mackenzie to the president of the Royal Asiatic Society.

six ships of the line, several frigates, brigs, and sloops of war, all commanded by Turks and manned by Arabs. Nothing can exceed the order and regularity which prevail on board these vessels ; the decks are beautifully clean, the brass railings and mountings highly polished ; and the guns, gun-rooms, and warlike stores every way unexceptionable. But it is not concealed that as their lower timbers are decayed, many of these splendid vessels are not sea-worthy ; and that it would be unsafe to make a voyage even to the coast of Syria in some of them which have the fairest appearance. Besides, the crews, generally speaking, are composed of inexperienced young men, brought from the interior, the great majority of whom have never been outside the harbour. The commanders and officers, too, are indifferent sailors, possessing little science and hardly any experience. Such a fleet may be formidable when engaged with an Ottoman squadron, but against a European naval force, their bravest efforts could accomplish nothing. The "Nile," ■ steam-frigate of a thousand tons, is the finest vessel in Mohammed's service. She has English engineers, a surgeon from the same country, but is manned and officered in the same inefficient manner as the rest of the fleet.*

A recent traveller, who has published a report of the Egyptian navy for the present year, gives a somewhat more favourable account of its condition and capabilities. The effective force he reckons at eight line of battleships, seven frigates, four corvettes, eight brigs, besides steamers and armed transports. On the stocks there are four ships of the line, and three first-rate frigates of sixty guns each. The naval school of Rassettin contains twelve hundred pupils, who are educated, clothed, and entirely maintained at the expense of the government, besides receiving a small salary. Of the young men trained in this seminary, some are exclusively devoted to the sea-service, while others are employed in the

Order and regularity

Real inefficiency.

Ignorance of the commanders.

More favourable report.

Vessels building.

Training seminary.

* Mackenzie, as already quoted.

CHAP. VIII. general branches of the administration. There are, besides, two schools entirely nautical, kept on board the Acre and Mansurah. The number of pupils varies according to circumstances ; their allowance seems to be liberal ; and, in order to confer honour on the institution as well as on the naval profession at large, the viceroy has enrolled his own son, Sahid Bey, in the list of cadets.*

* Semilasso (Prince Puckler Muskau) in Egypt. His notice respecting the fleet of Mohammed is as follows :—

EFFECTIVE FORCE OF THE EGYPTIAN NAVY IN THE
YEAR 1837.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

	30 pounders.	Men.
The Acre.....	104 guns.....	1200
Masser	104 guns and carronades.....	1200
Mohallet el Kubra.....	100 — —	1150
Skander.....	100 carronades	1150
Mansurah.....	100 —	1150
Homs.....	100 —	1150
Beleng	96 —	1000
Aboukir.....	82 —	950

FRIGATES.

24 pounders.

Avadalla.....	64 guns and carronades.....	600
Raschid.....	60 — —	580
Beherah.....	60 — —	580
Mufta Dschehad.....	60 — —	580
Dscher Dschehad.....	60 — —	580
Kaffer Schaek.....	60 — —	580
Damiat.....	54 — —	500

CORVETTES.

50 pounders.

Tantah.....	24 carronades.....	200
Dschen al Buchar	24 —	190
Belinghi Dschehad....	22 —	18 pounds 190
Dschehad Beker	22 —	190

BRIGS.

Schacka.....	18 carronades, 10 pounders...	120
Washington.....	18 — —	100
Semende Dschehad	18 — —	100
Beber Dschehad.....	18 — —	100

To complete his arrangements, the pasha has also founded several military schools, in which young persons of all ranks, especially from among the Arabs, are instructed in mathematics, fortification, gunnery, foreign languages, and in the principles of European tactics. The latest inventions are imported from France and England ; the most expensive apparatus and instruments are purchased ; the mysteries of gas, and steam, and lithography, are subjects of familiar study in the Egyptian capital, encouraged by the viceroy, and patronised by his court.

Military schools.

Mrs Lushington visited the Military College in Cairo, where she found masters in all the different branches of art and science which are deemed subservient to the profession of a soldier. "Besides these professors there were other instructors, chiefly Italians, who, in addition to their own language, taught Arabic, Turkish, and French, as also botany and arithmetic. Of the pupils three hundred were military conscripts, one hundred Pupils. and fifty Greek slaves, and the rest Turkish boys from Roumelia, and many Egyptians, who were either Mam-louks or slaves of the pasha. These were divided into

Military college at Cairo.

	Men.
The Scheinderi.....	16 carronades, 10 pounders... 90
Themsach	16 — 12 — 90
Shabal Dschehad.....	14 — 16 — 90
Cutter.....	10 — 16 — 90

STEAMBOATS.

Nile	4 carronades, 30 pounders 150
—	2 guns a la Paischans..... 150
Total	1428

14,600

SHIPS NOW ON THE STOCKS.

Ships of the line.

No. 9.....	100 guns and carronades 30 pounders
10.....	88 — —
11.....	100 — —
12. All the parts of this ship are ready, but are not yet put together. Three first-rate frigates are in a similar state of forwardness.	

CHAP. VIII. classes of sixty or a hundred each, every class under an instructor and subordinate monitors. Besides the mathematical students, twenty were learning Persian, a great many French and Italian, and the whole were taught to read and write Turkish and Arabic. Of the fourteen hundred boys of which the college consists, five hundred are boarders, and the rest are day-scholars ; all appeared healthy, clean, and well clothed.

Division of
classes.

Revenue
devoted to
the semina-
ries.

Lithographic
and printing
presses.

"The munificence of the pasha allots above six thousand dollars a-month to the maintenance of this seminary ; which, though a small sum when compared to what would be the expenses of a similar establishment in England, is adequate to its purpose in a country where the necessities of life are both cheap and abundant. The lithographic and printing presses next engaged our attention. They were apparently well conducted under the management of a Druse, a native of Mount Lebanon, a young man of polite manners, lively and intelligent, and one of the many who had been sent by the pasha to Europe for education. I saw printing in all its branches, from the formation of the letters to the completion of a book. The works already printed were, a 'Turkish History' by an officer of the Grand Vizier ; 'Correspondence between the Pasha and the Porte ;' a Translation in Turkish of some French authors on military and naval gunnery ; the Persian poem called Goolistan ; and some grammars. The presses were made under the superintendence of this Druse, but the paper was of European manufacture."*

Having experienced much difficulty, and several

* Narrative of a Journey, p. 171. This college, we believe, is at Boulak, the port of Cairo, and not within the walls of the city. We were struck with a remark made by the pasha when visiting one of his military schools. Addressing the young officers, whom he exhorted to redouble their zeal and perseverance as the first difficulties were already overcome, he said, "If I had any influence in heaven, I should work miracles in your behalf; but I am nothing more than a man, and can only give you salaries." "Si j'avais du credit dans le ciel je ferais pour vous des miracles; mais je ne suis qu'un homme, je ne puis vous offrir que des salaires." Planat, p. 181.

disappointments, as long as he was obliged to employ CHAP. VIII.
foreigners in his different undertakings, the pasha perse-
veres in the scheme, which he adopted some years ago,
of sending young men of talent to Italy, France, and
England, to study the respective arts of those enlighten-
ed countries. Several of his pupils have visited London To London.
and other parts of Great Britain, where they endeavoured
to make themselves acquainted with every mechanical
pursuit or ingenious invention that was likely to give
pleasure to their sovereign, and to benefit their native
land. At the present time, besides some small colonies
stationed at Genoa and Leghorn, there are about forty To Paris.
individuals in Paris, under the direction of Messrs
Jomard and Agoub, learning various branches of sci-
ence, the liberal arts, and even the outlines of European
literature.*

It is sometimes a misfortune for a man to live in ad- Unpopula-
vance of his age ; and we accordingly find that the pasha rity of the
is not only far from being popular, but that he is dis-
liked by the more influential classes of his subjects on
account of his most meritorious exertions. The indul-
gence, for example, which he grants to religious sects of Its source.
every denomination ; the use of the vaccine discovery as
well as of other surgical practices borrowed from Europe ;
and above all, the school of anatomy recently founded,
which creates a necessity for human subjects even in
addition to the waxen models which he has procured
from Italy, are innovations highly disagreeable to the
bigoted Mussulmans. In fact they perceive that he is
a Turk only to his own countrymen, with whom he is
rigidly strict ; whilst to all others he displays a degree

* We may mention, as a proof that Egypt keeps pace with the progress of the age, the publication of a newspaper under the auspices of Mohammed Ali. This periodical, it is true, does not yet enjoy that degree of freedom, in point of speculation and remonstrance, which is exercised in Europe ; but it serves, at least, as the vehicle of information to the remoter parts of the pashalic, and as the means of improvement to the various orders of men who are capable of sharing in the impulse which carries forward their spirited ruler in his schemes of amelioration.

CHAP. VIII. of liberality to which they are disposed to give the name of dishonesty or indifference.

Expenditure
on mosques.

His labours are somewhat better appreciated when they are directed to the embellishment of mosques, the decoration of fountains and reservoirs, or to the erection of a colonnade of white marble in honour of a patron saint. But, whatever may be thought of his conduct at home, he has every where else obtained great praise for his indefatigable exertions in opening the ancient canals which had been closed up for centuries, and in digging new ones, in order to promote the safety as well as the extension of commerce. Among these is particularly deserving of notice the cut which connects the harbour of Alexandria with the Nile, near Fouah,—a magnificent work, forty-eight miles in length, ninety feet broad, and about eighteen in depth,—and which supplies the means for bringing the whole produce of the country, without danger or delay, to the point of exportation.

Opening
canals.

In the winter of 1817, we are told, when a scarcity of grain prevailed all over Europe, vessels flocked to Egypt, where there was abundance; but owing to the bar at the mouth of the Nile near Rosetta, and the tempestuous weather along the coast, none of it could be conveyed in time to Alexandria. Hence, of the ships which had assembled, above three hundred in number, some at length went away in ballast, and others with half cargoes,—a circumstance which occasioned not only a very heavy loss to the owners, but endless disputes among the agents and merchants. It was then that the advantages of a navigable canal were urged upon the pasha, who resolved to engage immediately in the arduous undertaking.

Difficulty of
exporting it.

Consequent
undertaking.

In pursuance of this great object, all the labourers of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced to them to provide necessaries. To each village and district was allotted, as to the Roman legions of old, the extent of work which they were expected to perform. The Arabs were marched down in multitudes, under their respective chiefs, along the line of the intended canal; and it has been confidently stated, on

good authority, that the number employed at one time CHAP. VIII.
amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand
men. In little more than six weeks the whole excava- Number of
tion was completed, and the mass of the people returned
home to their respective habitations ; but, in the autumn,
a few thousands were called upon to face parts of the
bank with masonry, and to render the whole navigable
for vessels of considerable burden. This canal, which is
named Mahmoudieh, was opened with great pomp on Opening of
the 7th December 1819, and promises to confer a great
benefit on the natives themselves as well as on the
foreign merchant who sends ships to their port.*

It has been stated by several of the late writers on Egypt, that twenty thousand labourers fell a sacrifice to the urgency of the pasha on this occasion, and that, as the Franks are accused of having suggested the improvement, they share with his highness the odium which attaches to the remembrance of so oppressive a servitude. But, making allowance for the exaggeration usual in

* The increase of trade at the port of Alexandria has already rewarded the pasha for his exertions, and proved the wisdom of his plan. The following notice, extracted from M'Culloch's "Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation," contains useful intelligence, and affords at the same time additional evidence of the improving state of Egypt :—

" The imports principally consist of hardware, iron and tin, tobacco, timber, machinery, silk, woollens, slaves, cotton-stuffs, &c. The exports consist of cotton, rice, wheat, and other grain, flax, linseed, sugar, coffee, drugs, &c. In 1823, no fewer than 140 vessels loaded with grain were despatched from Alexandria for Constantinople and the islands of the Archipelago.

" *Money.*—Accounts are kept at Alexandria, as at Cairo, in current piasters, each piaster being equal to 40 paras or medini, and each medino to 30 aspers. The medino is also divided into 8 borbi, or 6 forli. A purse contains 25,000 medini. The piasters struck in 1826 contain a great deal of alloy; 15½ or 16 piasters = 1 Spanish dollar; hence 1 piaster = 3½d. sterling very nearly. Payments in transactions of any importance are generally made in Spanish dollars.

" *Weights and Measures.*—The yard or pik = 26·8 English inches; hence 100 piks = 74·438 English yards. The measures for corn are the rhebebe and the quillot or kisloz; the former = 4·364 English bushels, the latter = 4·729 ditto. The cantara or quintal = 100 rottoli, but the rottolo has different names and weights: 1

CHAP. VIII. such cases, it is probable that the loss of life was not so great as it has been represented ; and, besides, it is more likely to have fallen upon the women and children, who as in the patriarchal times follow the migration of the males, than upon the workmen who were actually employed in the excavation. We are inclined to adopt this view of the matter from a fact stated by Planat in regard to the military conscription about five years ago. The number of recruits wanted for the army was 12,000, but the multitude who appeared at the camp, including all ages and both sexes, was found to exceed 70,000, and who, before they could return to their dwellings, must have been subjected to much suffering, and to almost every species of privation.*

Singular migrations.

rottolo forforo = .9347 lb. avoirdupois ; 1 rottolo zaidino = 1.335 lb. ditto ; 1 rottolo zauro or zaro = 2.07 lb. ditto ; 1 rottolo mina = 1.67 lb. ditto.—*Manuel Universel de Nelkenbrecher.*

“ The following is an account of the foreign vessels that arrived at Alexandria in 1822, 1823, and 1824 :—

	1822.	1823.	1824.
Venetian and Tuscan,.....	292	351	600
Danish,.....	15	25	13
French,.....	57	52	111
English, American, and Ionian,.....	223	230	251
Romish,.....	—	—	2
Russian,.....	10	59	100
Sardinian,.....	143	98	77
Hollanders,.....	3	1	5
Spaniards,.....	54	24	70
Swedes,.....	76	81	47
Sicilians,.....	28	12	14
	901	933	1290

—*Bulletin des Sciences Géographiques.*”

“ In 1831 there entered the port of Alexandria 1215 ships, burden 198,299 tons. Of these the Austrian were the most numerous; next the English and Ionian; and then the French, Spanish, and Sardinian.”—*M'Culloch's Dictionary*, article “ *Alexandria.* ”

* With respect to the canal of Alexandria, it is said, that owing partly to the nature of the ground, partly to some defects in the construction, and partly to the mud deposited by the water of the Nile, it cannot now be navigated except during the period of the inundation. Its free and constant navigation would be of the greatest advantage; and it is believed that this object might be secured by facing the inside with brick, and putting it otherwise in good order.

In connexion with the great improvements which are CHAP. VIII.
 taking place every day in navigation, more especially by means of steam, the trade of Egypt naturally rises into immense importance. At present, as in the ancient days of oriental commerce, Alexandria presents itself as the station of a grand entrepôt between Europe and Hindostan. There is little hope of a canal being ever accomplished across the isthmus of Suez. The moving sands of the desert would soon defeat the efforts of the most skilful engineer in his attempt to connect the Red Sea and the Mediterranean either by a water-channel or a rail-road. Besides, the upper part of the gulf is so much impeded by rocks that merchantmen would find themselves continually exposed to the hazard of shipwreck even in the finest season of the year.

The route from Cosseir is therefore decidedly the best for reviving a regular intercourse with India, along the northern line of the African coast. The distance from the Nile at Kenneh,—the ancient Coptos,—is about seventy miles; and a good road, it is said, might be effected without much difficulty. The eastern side of the Red Sea, in that latitude, is both deep and safe, affording the utmost facility of passage even to ships of great burden; and the few obstacles that remain on the opposite coast may with a little care be either removed or avoided. Goods would then be sent down the Nile from Kenneh to Alexandria, whence all the ports on the Mediterranean would receive their principal supply.

Hence appears the great importance of civilizing Egypt, which under an enlightened government would prove the means of facilitating a regular correspondence between Europe and all the trading nations of the Asiatic continent. The French, it is alleged by all recent travellers, are not blind to the manifold advantages which may be reaped from such an intercourse; and are therefore sedulous in their endeavours to obtain a footing in the country, as the allies or agents of the pasha. There is hardly any department of his administration, civil or military, in which the subjects of Louis

Increasing
importance
of Egypt.

Difficulties
of a canal
across the
isthmus of
Suez.

Route from
Cosseir.

Importance
of civilizing
Egypt.

CHAP. VIII. Philippe exert not a large share of influence ; recommending the usages of their native land as the most deserving of imitation, and the policy of their sovereign as the best entitled to confidence.

Fruits of
zeal and
energy.

The zeal and energy of the viceroy have been rewarded by a great increase of trade, and a corresponding rise in the value of raw produce ; but accident has conferred upon him a greater boon than could have been derived from the wisest arrangements. M. Jumel discovered one day, in the garden of a Turk called Mako, a plant of the cotton-tree, which he afterwards propagated with so much skill and success as to have changed, says Planat, the commerce and statistics of Egypt. This important vegetable bears the name of the Frenchman who first made the government acquainted with its manifold uses as an article of domestic manufacture and of foreign trade. Jumel erected at Boulak, near Cairo, Cotton mills. a superb establishment, equal in its structure to the finest European manufactory, for spinning, weaving, dyeing, and printing of cotton goods. The latest improvements in machinery were borrowed from Rouen or Manchester ; steam is the principal moving power ; and gas is employed for the purposes of artificial light.

Manufactory
at Siout.

At Siout Mr Webster found a cotton manufactory in full operation. "It was established," says he, "some six years ago, and gives employment to eight hundred men and boys, who earn ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty paras, and sometimes three piasters. Little boys of seven or eight were seen in all parts of the process. The

Intelligence
of Arab boys. Arab boys are singularly active and intelligent-looking. They work with an air of sharpness which is quite remarkable,—a sort of style and flourish, which shows a full comprehension and mastery of what they are about. They appear much quicker than English boys of the same age. Young girls were once tried in the factory, but were found to be of no service. The manager and sub-manager accompanied us round with great pleasure. Cotton factories are by no means uncommon in Egypt."*

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 131.

M. Mengin makes a remark, which we have seen confirmed by other authors,—namely, that during the prevalence of the desert-winds machinery is very liable to be disordered by the impalpable dust which then fills the air, and is extremely penetrating. This powder finds its way into the wheel-work and finer parts of a piece of mechanism, disturbing and sometimes stopping the movements; while the wood, in similar circumstances, warps or splits, and the threads, owing to the excessive dryness of the climate, are very apt to break and snap asunder. But notwithstanding all these disadvantages, which perhaps find a full compensation in the cheap labour of a country whose inhabitants have few wants, the pasha is able to compete with the European manufacturers in every market to which he is admitted, and even to undersell the merchants of India in their own ports.*

It has happened, fortunately for the pasha, that this cotton-wool is not the usual coarse kind hitherto grown in Egypt, but of a very superior quality, equal to the best American. In the year 1822, the crop yielded about 5,600,000 lbs.,—a portion of which being sent to Liverpool on trial, was sold at the rate of a shilling a-pound. In 1823, the produce was so abundant that, after supplying the countries on the borders of the Mediterranean, it was calculated that at least 50,000 bags might be exported to England. He is still extending the culture of this useful plant on tracts of ground long neglected, by clearing out the old canals, and digging others for the purpose of irrigation; so that it is very probable the quantity of cotton which may be raised in

* About six years ago the following notice appeared in a Calcutta paper, dated a short time previous:—“An Arab ship has arrived from the Red Sea, and brought 250 bales of cotton-yarn, the manufacture of the pasha at his spinning-mills near Cairo. It is reported that he has sent 500 bales to Surat, 1000 to Calcutta, and that he intends next season to send long-cloths, madapollands, &c., having established power-looms! These goods are at present admitted at 60 per cent. invoice cost, besides $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. customs. What will the mercantile community say to this new competitor?”

CHAP. VIII.
Impediments
to machi-
nery.

Shifting
sands.

Superiority
of the cotton.

Its great
abundance.

CHAP. VIII. Egypt will at no distant period equal the whole importation from America ; because, as the crop is not exposed, on the banks of the Nile, to the frosts and heavy rains which frequently injure it in the less temperate climate of the United States, it is much less precarious. Besides, this new source of supply acquires additional importance from the consideration that it will be brought to England in British shipping, and will therefore almost necessarily lead to an increase of our export trade to Egypt.

Prospects of the cotton crop.

It was at one time apprehended that fear of the plague in this country might prove an obstacle to the extension of the cotton trade with the dominions of the pasha. An alarm, which no one could pronounce altogether groundless, seized the magistrates of Liverpool, who forthwith consulted the physicians, both as to the risk of infection, and the proper means for preventing so formidable an evil. But the experience of more than a century proves that, with suitable precautions, the disease in question can be effectually guarded against, even in climates which might be imagined to predispose the human constitution to its influence. The Mediterranean States, for example, have found that the establishment of quarantine protects the health of their inhabitants ; while many intelligent medical men hold the opinion that the atmosphere of Great Britain, combined with the improved police of our larger towns, is itself a sufficient antidote to the malady, which occasionally carries death through the crowded, filthy, and ill-ventilated lanes of the modern Alexandria. The pasha himself has undertaken to extirpate the plague from Egypt ; and we have no doubt that, by the use of the means which he has been advised to adopt, he will ultimately succeed. The rules enforced by the English Board of Health in that country in 1801, had the effect, in the first instance, of causing its gradual disappearance, and, finally, of bringing it to a total cessation ; and the whole of Egypt remained perfectly free from it during the ten succeeding years. At all events a trade with Turkey

Apprehensions of the plague.

Effectual protection.

Efforts to extirpate it from Egypt.

has been carried on with perfect impunity from a very CHAP. VIII.
remote period ; comprehending cotton-wool, cotton-yarn,
mohair-yarn, and carpets, articles not less to be sus-
pected as vehicles of contagion than the commodities
produced by Mohammed Ali.*

Besides cotton, this enterprising monarch has be- Silk, flax,
stowed similar attention on silk, flax, and the sugar- and sugar.
cane. To these may be added indigo, safflower, and
henneh, which are of great use in the various processes
of dyeing and calico-printing. In the valley of Tomlat,
the ancient Land of Goshen, he has established a colony
of five hundred Syrians, for the purpose of improving Rearing
the mulberry and rearing silkworms ; while, in the silkworms.
beautiful province of Fayoum, the vine and the olive
are again approaching that perfection which they once
enjoyed, and for which the genial climate of Egypt ap-
pears exceedingly well calculated. Tobacco is likewise Tobacco.
cultivated to a great extent ; but, being weaker than
the American, is not so much liked in Europe, and is

* See Quarterly Review, vol. xxx. p. 500. Planat and Volney.
The quantity of cotton-wool exported from Egypt in the six years
from 1829 to 1834 inclusive, was as follows :—

1829,.....	5,894,480
1830,.....	3,048,633
1831,.....	7,714,474
1832,.....	10,824,111
1833,.....	8,533,364
1834,.....	7,444,347

During the year 1835, more than 100,000 bales of cotton were shipped at Alexandria. The price paid for this quantity by the merchants exceeded £700,000. The quantity exported in 1836 was 34,000 bales, which is considerably less than usual.

In 1835 the French imported from Egypt 25,807 bales of cotton . the imports at Trieste during the same year were about 50,000 ; and those at Leghorn and Genoa were together about the same amount as that at Trieste. The bale of Egyptian cotton weighs about 220 lbs.

The amount of goods exported from Great Britain to Egypt in 1834 and 1835 was as follows :—

Cotton Goods.	Hosiery, Lace, &c.	Cotton Yarn & Twist.
1834. Yards, 3,929,444 Value, £95,874	Value, £296	531,714 lbs. Value, £29,900
1835. Yards, 5,326,027 Value, £161,779	£290	464,120 lbs. Value, £29,683

CHAP. VIII. therefore chiefly confined to domestic consumption. In
 Immense productive powers. a word, it is impossible to set limits to the productive powers of that fine country, stimulated by heat and moisture to an extent which in some degree may be regulated by the wants of the agriculturist, and of which the soil is constantly repaired by the annual depositions of the river. Nothing seems wanting but a more enlightened experience, and the enjoyment of greater freedom on the part of the cultivator, to render the dominions of Mohammed Ali the richest country on the face of the earth, the abode of plenty, civilisation, and knowledge.

Interference with private industry.

Excise.

Shoemaking.

Cloth manufacture.

But it must not be concealed, that at present the pasha is too much disposed to interfere with the private industry of his subjects. His views of political economy are narrow in the extreme. Having created the commerce and manufactories of Egypt, he regards the whole as his own property, or at least so much under his control that no one is permitted to think for himself, to fix his price, or to choose his market. His excise officers rival in activity the agents of the oldest European nation ; and hence we are assured that, if a peasant sows a little cotton and his wife spins it into a garment, it is liable to seizure unless it be stamped with the viceroy's mark as ■ proof of its having paid duty. We are farther told that he furnishes the shoemaker with leather, who cuts it and makes it into shoes, and when they are finished carries them to the proper agent, who pays him so much a-day for his labour. The shoes are then deposited in a general store, out of which they are sold to the public. The same thing is done with regard to the cloth manufactures. He provides the weaver with the yarn, who when he has completed his web takes it to the national overseer, who remunerates him at a certain rate for his work ; the stuff is then lodged in the government warehouse, where it is either sold to the natives themselves, or exported by foreign merchants, at a considerable profit to the vigilant pasha.

The same principle applies to the largest establish-

ments. Every landholder and manufacturer is obliged to convey the produce of his labour to some central depot, where it is purchased by the agents of government at fixed prices; and all articles must be marked, otherwise they cannot be legally sold. Even in the speculations of commerce the pasha claims the right of taking a share with the merchants, so far at least as to advance funds and enjoy a portion of the profit. But, should the adventure turn out unfavourably, he does not think himself bound to bear any part of the loss; confining his generosity on such occasions to an ample allowance of time for reimbursing the stock which he may have contributed.

Hence, it has been alleged that his countenance has in many cases proved a positive disadvantage; because he has induced mercantile houses into speculations in which they would not have voluntarily engaged, and involved them in difficulties from which some who possessed but a small capital have never recovered. It is in the Indian trade chiefly that these disasters have occurred; sufficient attention not having been paid to the length of the voyage, the slowness of the returns, and, above all, the frequent gluts to which those distant markets are liable. But so desirous is Mohammed of establishing an intercourse with the East, that there are no expedients within the range of human means which he will not employ in order to realize his purpose. The recovery of the wealth which was withdrawn from Egypt by the barbarism of its government, as well as by the improvements in navigation which crowned the efforts of the European powers in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is a favourite object with the politicians of Cairo, and engages deeply the attention of their chief. He can already supply the states on the shores of the Mediterranean with wax, hides, coffee, myrrh, frankincense, coccus indicus, assafœtida, ivory, rhinoceros-horn, tortoise-shell, sal-ammoniac, senna, tamarinds, ostrich-feathers, incense, balsam of Mecca, gum-arabic, gum-copal, benzoïn, Socotrine aloes, coloquintida, gum-ammoniac, galbanum, sagape-

CHAP. VII.
Government agency.

Evil effects of interference.

Disasters of the India trade.

Political aims at Cairo

Commercial supplies.

CHAP. VIII. num, opoponax, spikenard, sulphur, musk, and gold-dust.

Overland
caravans.

Mecca.

Mount Sinai. vans from Mount Sinai appear in the spring, bringing dates and charcoal ; similar commodities are sent from the oases on the backs of camels ; the same mode of conveyance being still used to transport the cargoes of Arabia, Persia, and Hindostan, from the Red Sea to the capital.

Abyssinia.

Exchanges.

Trade to
Cosseir.

The intercourse by land with the countries towards the south and west is carried on by caravans. Those from Sennaar and Darfür arrive in September or October, and depart when they have sold their goods and completed their purchases. The sacred convoy of pilgrims bound to Mecca reaches Egypt about the Ramadan or general fast, and sets off immediately after Beïram, the great Mohammedan feast, that it may enter the holy city before the month of the festival has expired. Caravans from Mount Sinai appear in the spring, bringing dates and charcoal ; similar commodities are sent from the oases on the backs of camels ; the same mode of conveyance being still used to transport the cargoes of Arabia, Persia, and Hindostan, from the Red Sea to the capital.

The caravans from Abyssinia travel northward through the desert, on the eastern side of the Nile, as far as Esneh. They bring ivory and ostrich-feathers ; but their principal trade consists in gum and in slaves of both sexes, Cairo being the ultimate destination of the latter, the place where the sales are made. They carry home the glass manufactures of Venice, woollen dresses, cotton and linen stuffs, blue shawls, and some other articles which they purchase at Siout and Kenneh. The Ababdé and Bicharis tribes also come to Esneh, for metals, utensils, and such grain as they require. They sell slaves, camels, and gum, gathered by them in their deserts, as well as the charcoal which they make from the acacia trees. But the most valuable commodity that they bring is senna, which they collect in the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea, where it grows without culture.

The trade to Cosseir, on the shores of that Gulf, is only a feeble remnant of that by which Egypt was once enriched. The exports are, wheat, barley, beans, lentils, sugar, carthamon flowers, oil of lettuce, and butter. The importations are, coffee, cotton cloth, Indian muslins, English silks, spices, incense, and Cashmere shawls. This

branch of commerce is conducted by persons going on CHAP. VIII.
their pilgrimage to Mecca.

The principal imports from the nations of Europe may be reckoned as follows :—The French cloths called ma-houts and londrins, silks, scarlet caps, gold-lace, blotting-paper, glass, earthenware, hardware, watches, and many inferior objects from Marseilles ; every variety of cotton goods, superfine broadcloths, lead, tin, iron, steel, vitriol, gun-barrels, firearms, and watches, from England ; similar articles from Germany and Italy, especially the scarlet bonnets or skullcaps which are indispensable to the Turks. Such goods brought directly from the place of manufacture pay an import duty of three per cent. ; while Turkish commodities are charged five per cent. at Alexandria, and four per cent. at Boulak. For goods brought by land from the interior, nine per cent. is exacted at one payment. The export duty is three per cent. to Europe, and five per cent. to Turkey on either side of the Hellespont. Cargoes sent by the Red Sea pay ten per cent. each way, with certain exceptions too minute to be specified on the present occasion. The fullest details, with ample lists of exports and imports, are given by M. Mengin, in the work already so often referred to, where the mercantile reader will find much to gratify his curiosity in regard to the commercial system pursued by Mohammed Ali.*

The revenue of Egypt has been estimated at £2,249,379, arising from the *miri*, or land-tax ; the customs ; the resumed lands, amounting to nearly all the cultivated soil ; the conquered territories, Darfür, Sennaar, Nubia, and a large part of Arabia ; the monopoly of nearly all

* We have in our possession a “Tableau du Commerce de l’Egypte avec l’Europe,” containing a great variety of articles under the separate heads of importation and exportation. The imports are from France, England, Holland, Germany, Russia, Sweden, and the Mediterranean states. The exports are produced in Egypt, India, Arabia, Abyssinia, Nubia, Sennaar, and Kordofan. The commodities drawn from Europe indicate not only an increase of wealth among the subjects of Mohammed Ali, but also the progress of luxury, taste, and refinement, to no inconsiderable extent.

CHAP. VIII. the Egyptian commerce ; and, finally, an excise on Annual manufactures, raw produce and provisions. The annual expenditure is calculated at £1,757,840, of which more than one-half is required for the army, including the erection of barracks and the supply of arms. About £90,000 is remitted to Constantinople in name of tribute ; £14,000 is devoted to the support of the church and the law ; an equal sum is expended on the pilgrimage to Mecca ; and nearly £200,000 on the pasha's household, his guards, and his yeomen of the palace.

Former practice.

In former times the revenue passed through the hands of the beys, who, after charging it with the expenses of government, were understood to remit the surplus to Constantinople. But the different agents and collectors managed so adroitly that the grand seignior very seldom touched any portion of the taxes ; on the contrary, he was often called upon to pay for the repairs of buildings and canals which were never executed. It is generally believed that the Mamlouks drew from Egypt, in the shape of public and private income, about a million and a half sterling. When the French were in possession of the country the imposts varied from year to year according to the state of the war. General Reynier valued their average amount at about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling, or from twenty to twenty-five millions of francs.*

Population.

It has not been found an easy task to ascertain the population of modern Egypt. M. Sylvestre de Sacy, Mengin, and others, have supplied certain facts, from which we may infer that it amounts to about two millions and a half ; but it remains doubtful whether we ought to include in that number the Arabs who occupy the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea, or to restrict it to the inhabitants of towns, and to such of the peasantry as are made subjects of taxation. The last of the authors just named, who professes to have paid great attention to this article of Egyptian statistics, reckons in

* Malte-Brun, vol. iv. p. 100.

Cairo eight persons to a house, while in the provinces he CHAP. VIII
assigns only four individuals to a family. The amount Estimated
is as follows :— numbers.

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
In Cairo,.....	25,000	200,000
In the provincial towns of Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Old Cairo, and Boulak,.....	14,532	58,128
In fourteen provinces, containing 3475 villages,	564,168	2,256,272
	603,700	2,514,400

Compared with the pompous narratives of the ancient historians, the present population of the great valley of the Nile sinks into insignificance. Before the Persian conquest the inhabitants, including all classes who acknowledge the authority of the Pharaohs, were estimated at seven millions,—a number which, if we consider the extreme productiveness of the country, yielding in many parts two crops every year, will not be pronounced altogether improbable. Besides, we are satisfied that the Libyan Desert now covers a great breadth of soil which was at one time under crop, and which, even in our own days, is not quite beyond the reach of irrigation by means of canals drawn from the higher sections of the Nile,—an expedient not unlikely to suggest itself to that energetic governor, who has already made an extensive cut near Elephantiné in order to avoid the disadvantages of the Cataracts.

It is obvious that, in a country where neither births nor deaths are registered, the amount of the population cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. Mr Lane, whose work is entitled to much confidence, states as his opinion, that the number of inhabitants at the present moment does not exceed two millions.* Cairo is

Compared
with ancient
accounts.

Encroach-
ments of the
desert.

Obstacles
to precise
estimates.

* He estimates the native Mohammedans at....1,750,000
The Christians or Copts... 150,000
Turks..... 10,000
Syrians..... 5,000
Greeks 5,000
Armenians... 2,000
Jews 5,000
1,927,000

CHAP. VIII. said to contain about 240,000, including all classes ; of whom 190,000 are supposed to be Mussulmans ; 10,000 Copts ; 3000 or 4000 Jews ; and the rest strangers from various countries.

Population of Cairo. Classification. The inhabitants of modern Egypt have by other authors been rated as follows :—

Copts,.....	160,000
Arab Fellahs,.....	2,250,000
Bedouin Arabs,.....	150,000
Arabian Greeks,.....	25,000
Jews,.....	20,000
Syrians,.....	20,000
Armenians,.....	10,000
Turks and Albanians,.....	20,000
Franks or Levantines,.....	4,000
Mamlouks,.....	500
Ethiopians, &c.....	7,500
In all,.....	2,667,000*

Division of races.

Mohammedan intolerance.

Talent of the mans in Spain ; while the talent possessed by the Copts for writing and keeping accounts recommended them to their conquerors, and at the same time supplied the means of perpetuating their own race. The Arab, who knew no art but that of war, saw that he had an interest in preserving them ; and hence we find that, after all

* Modern Traveller.

the contumely and oppression they have undergone, CHAP. VIII. their number amounts to about two hundred thousand. They are seen in all parts of the country from Alexandria to the Cataracts ; but their principal residence is in the Saïd, where they occasionally constitute the inhabitants of nearly whole villages.

Egypt has been so frequently invaded, overrun, and colonized, that there no longer exists in it a pure race. The Copts are usually regarded as the descendants of the true Egyptians, the subjects of Amenophis and Sesostris.

Those writers who have gone in search of the etymological extraction of the name, have, as usual, arrived at very different results. Perhaps the opinion of D'Herbelot presents the greatest show of reason, which identifies it with the word *Kypt* or *Kept*, a term employed even by the modern Copts as the designation of their country. In remote times *Ægyptius* was also written *Ægoptios*, in both of which forms the first syllable is an article. Homer, too, seems to have given the name of *Ægyptos* to the Nile ; and, according to Herodotus, Thebes, the ancient capital, was called *Ægyptus*. If we remove the article and the Greek termination from *Ægoptios*,—the remaining root Gopt will give the appellation by which the old possessors of Egypt are known to the nations of modern Europe.*

The Coptic language, which is fully ascertained to have been the tongue of the people at large under the Pharaonic dynasty, exhibits some affinity to the Hebrew and Ethiopic, but is now greatly mixed with Greek and Arabic terms. Several dialects have been detected, ac-

* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. mots *Kebt*, *Kibt*. Malte-Brun, iv. p. 106. Kircher's Prodromus Koptus, p. 293. Herod. Euterpe.

Mr Lane observes, that the name is correctly pronounced either Koobt or Kibt, but more commonly either Goobt or Gibt. In the singular, it is pronounced Koobtee or Gibtee. All of these sounds bear a great resemblance to the ancient Greek name of Egypt ; but it is generally believed that the name of Koobt is derived from Coptos, once a great city in Upper Egypt, now called Koopt, or, more commonly, Gooft, to which vast numbers of the early Christians retired during the persecution with which their sect was visited under several of the Roman emperors.

CHAP. VIII. according to the geographical situation of the tribes who continue to speak it, whether in the Delta or the Saïd. Its general character, we are told, consists in the shortness of the words, in the simplicity of its grammatical modifications, and in the circumstance of expressing genders and cases by prefixed syllables, and not by terminations, like the languages of Greece and Rome.*

Religion of
the Copts.

The religion of the Copts is that form of christianity which was derived from the sect of the Eutychians, a body of heretics who sprang up in the Greek or Eastern church. Their head is the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, they maintain, sits in the seat of St Mark the Evangelist; to whom they ascribe their conversion, and whose relics they were wont to exhibit. This dignitary may also be regarded as the superior of the Abyssinian christians, for he always appoints the Abuna, who is the highest ecclesiastical functionary among that people. The patriarch, though himself elected by the clergy, exercises an almost unlimited power, and is every where obeyed with the most profound respect. The officiating ministers are maintained by the bounty of their flocks; but it should seem that, as their acquirements are not expected to be of a very high order, the process of training is neither tedious nor expensive. The rite of ordination proceeds on a principle similar to that of the marriage-ceremony among the ancient Romans. The candidate is seized by certain priests, his friends, and carried almost by force to the patriarch, who persists, notwithstanding all his pleas of unworthiness, to pronounce over him the usual benediction. No person can be ordained who is unmarried, nor when he has been ordained can he marry a second time. The monks, on being admitted into their order, are clad in a winding-sheet, and have the funeral-service performed, to indicate that they are now dead to the world. They are bound to maintain a

Patriarch of
Alexandria.

Rite of
ordination.

Marriage
indispensable.

* Quatremère, *Recherches sur la Littérature Egyptienne*. Vater in the Mithridates of Adelung. Zoega de Orig. et Usu Obeliscorum, sect. iv. c. 2.

strict celibacy, as from among them the bishops are uniformly elected,—a rule which leads to a strange contrast in the qualifications required in the several ranks of the priesthood. The Copts practise the Jewish rite of circumcision, as well as auricular confession, and other ceremonies common to the Eastern church and to that of the West. At Cairo, indeed, there are about 5000 of them who have conformed to the Romish communion, and are receiving a suitable education under the eyes of certain members of the College for Propagating the Faith in Foreign Parts.*

Although this people are generally regarded as the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, mingled with the Persians left by Cambyses, and with the Greeks who followed the standard of Alexander, they are described by travellers as having a darker complexion than the Arabs, flat foreheads, and hair partaking of the woolly character. They have also large eyes, raised at the angles, high cheek-bones, short though not flat noses, wide mouths, and thick lips. Like all classes of men who have been long degraded, they are remarkable for cunning and duplicity, removed at once from the pride of the Turk and the bluntness of the Arab. They are, in fact, an uncouth and grovelling race, and farther distant from civilisation and the softened habits of society than any of their fellow-citizens.

The Copts are not now so much contemned and oppressed by the government as they were a few years

* A patriarch, we are told, may be appointed by his predecessor; but generally he is chosen by lot, and always from among the monks of the convent of St Anthony, in the eastern desert of Egypt. The bishops and principal priests, when a patriarch is to be elected, apply to the superior of that convent, who selects eight or nine monks, any one of whom he considers qualified for the high office of head of the church. The names of these persons are written, each upon a separate slip of paper, which pieces of paper are then rolled into the form of little balls, and put into a drawer. A priest draws one without looking, and the person whose name is thus produced is invested with the office of patriarch. Formerly a young child was employed to draw the lot; being supposed to be more under the direction of Heaven. Lane, vol. ii. p. 313.

CHAP. VIII
Monkish celibacy.Circumci-
sion.

Mixed character of the race.

Features.

Degradation.

CHAP. VIII. ago ; some of them being even raised to the rank of beys.

Former restrictions. Before the accession of Mohammed Ali, neither Christians nor Jews were allowed to ride on horses in Egypt ; but this restriction has of late been entirely withdrawn.

Liberality of Ibrahim. A short time since, the Turks of Damascus, who are notorious for their bigotry and intolerance, complained to Ibrahim Pasha of the privilege now mentioned ;

Immunity of the Copts. urging that the Moslems no longer had the power of distinguishing themselves from infidels. In reply, the warrior recommended, in a sarcastic tone, that the true believers, if they still wished to be exalted above the Nazarenes, should ride on dromedaries in the streets ; assuring them that, in this respect, the others would not

follow their example. It is added that the Copts enjoy an immunity, for which they are much envied by the followers of the prophet ; they are not liable to be drafted for military service, as no Mohammedan prince will honour a Christian so far as to employ his arms against the enemies of the true faith.*

Volney's description. The physiognomical description given above is supplied by Malte-Brun, which differs not greatly from that of Volney, who remarked that "both history and tradition attest their descent from the people who were conquered by the Arabs,—that is, the mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and above all of Greeks, who under the Ptolemies and Constantines were so long in possession of

Deduction. Egypt." "This," he adds, "will be rendered still more probable, if we consider the distinguishing features of this race of people : we shall find them all characterized by a sort of yellowish dusky complexion, which is neither Grecian nor Arabian : they have all a puffed visage, swollen eyes, flat noses, and thick lips ;—in short,

the exact countenance of a mulatto. I was at first tempted to attribute this to the climate ; but when I visited the Sphinx, I could not help thinking the figure of that monster furnished the true solution of the enigma, observing its features to be precisely those of a negro."†

* Lane, vol. ii. p. 327.

† Travels, vol. i. p. 79.

Dr Richardson, on the other hand, observes that, CHAP. VIII neither in their features nor in their complexion, have the Copts the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians represented in the tombs at Thebes, or in any other part of the country ; and he accordingly supposes that they are a mixed race, bearing in their countenances the marks of an alliance to the great Circassian family, and obviously distinguished from the children of Mizraim, the aboriginal Egyptians. The Nubians, on ^{Nubians.} Conclusion of Dr. Richardson.

the contrary, resident at Elephantiné, are described by him as perfectly black, but without possessing the least of the negro feature ; the lips small, the nose aquiline ; the expression of the face sweet and animated, and bearing a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians. He also noticed several families of a third race, ^{Third race.} differing both in complexion and feature from the inhabitants of Es Souan and of Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany ; approaching nearer, both in feature and complexion, to that which is called the head of the young Memnon, and to the figures in the tomb at Beban el Melouk, than any of the human race that ever fell under his observation. They are as different, he subjoins, from the Copt in Egypt, both in hue and feature, as a Hindoo is from a Frenchman.*

Hence it has been concluded, with considerable probability, that the ancient Egyptians were, as regards colour, blacks, although essentially distinguished in their physiognomy from the negro.

The Arabs may be divided into three classes ; first, Classification of the Arabs. the wild independent Bedouins who occupy the desert ; next the pastoral tribes who feed their flocks on the borders of Egypt and occasionally enter the cultivated districts ; and, lastly, the peasants or Fellahs, who devote themselves to agriculture and the arts, and are the principal inhabitants of the villages both in Upper and

* Travels, vol. i. pp. 90, 361.

CHAP. VIII. Lower Egypt. This people are distinguished by a lively and expressive countenance, small sparkling eyes, short pointed beards, and a general angularity of form ; their lips, being usually open, show their teeth ; their arms are extremely muscular ; the whole body, in short, is more remarkable for agility than for beauty, and more nervous than handsome. The tented Arab, hovering with his flocks along the borders of the fertile valley of the Nile, is the same in character, manners, and customs, as he has been since the days of the patriarchs ; regarding with disdain and proud independence all other classes of mankind, but more particularly those of his own nation who in his eyes have degraded themselves by taking up their abodes in fixed habitations, and whom he calls, in contempt, the Arabs of the Walls.

Turks.

The Turks have graver features and sleeker forms, fine eyes, but overshadowed so much as to have little expression ; large noses, handsome mouths, good lips, long tufted beards, lighter complexions, short necks, a grave and indolent habit of body ; and in every thing an air of weight, which they associate with the idea of nobleness.

Greeks.

The Greeks, who must now be classed as foreigners, present the regular features, the delicacy and the versatility of their ancestors ; they are charged with a certain degree of sharpness and roguery in their mercantile transactions, qualities for which they are indebted, perhaps, to the oppressive domination of their Moslem conquerors. We are told that there are about five thousand descendants of the ancient Greek colonists, who form quite a distinct race from the modern Greeks. They have lost their original tongue, and speak a kind of Arabic ; most of them are mariners, but in general they pursue the inferior and handicraft trades.

Jews.

The Jews have the same physiognomy as in Europe, and are here, as well as every where else, devoted to the pursuits of commerce. Despised and buffeted, without being actually expelled, they compete with the Copts in the large towns for situations in the customs, and for the management of property belonging to the rich.

Arab
expression.

Unchanged
character.

Greek
colonists.

M. Mengin reckons that there are about four thousand of this singular people resident in the dominions of Mohammed Ali, three thousand of whom inhabit a part of Cairo which bears the distinction of their name. The streets are so narrow as to be almost impassable ; the houses are dark, crowded together, filthy, and so infectious that when the plague breaks out, the first inquiry is, if it has appeared in the Jews' Quarter.*

CHAP. VIII.
Number of
Jews.

The spirit of improvement which distinguishes the reign of the viceroy has produced less change on the external appearance of Cairo than on the temper and views of its inhabitants. We have elsewhere stated that this celebrated city was founded in the tenth century by the first caliph of the Fatimite dynasty, and that the famous Saladin, about two hundred years afterwards, built the ramparts with which it is surrounded, extending more than eighteen thousand yards in length. In ascending the Nile the traveller arrives first at Boulak, the port of the capital, where the vessels are moored that come from the coast ; and farther south is Old Cairo, at which there is a harbour for the reception of the traders which descend from Upper Egypt. Between these two ancient towns is Cairo, properly so called, removed from the river about a mile and a half, and stretching towards the mountains of Mokattam on the east,—a distance of not less than three miles. It is encircled with a stone wall, surmounted by fine battlements, and fortified with lofty towers at every hundred paces. There are three or four beautiful gates built by the Mamlouks, and uniting a simple style of architecture with an air of grandeur and magnificence.

Old Cairo.

New Cairo.

But in this vast metropolis we find only one regular street, narrow and unpaved. The houses, like all others in Egypt, are badly built of earth or indifferent brick, and are only distinguished by being two or three stories high. Lighted by windows looking into back-courts or

Domestic
architecture.

* Mengin, *Histoire de l'Egypte*. Malte-Brun, vol. iv. Malib.
Memoire sur l'Egypte. Denon, i. 88. Hasselquist, *Voyage*, p. 68.

CHAP. VIII. quadrangles, they appear to ■ stranger like so many Mosque of Sultan Hassan. prisons, though the general aspect is a little relieved by a number of large squares and many fine mosques. That of Sultan Hassan, built at the bottom of the mountain on which the citadel is placed, is in the form of a parallelogram, and of great extent ; a deep frieze goes all the way round the top of the wall, adorned with sculptures which we call Gothic, but which were introduced into Europe by the Arabians who invaded Spain. The outline of the city is nearly that of a quadrant, being square towards the north and east, and circular towards the south and west.

Canal at Cairo.

Its import-
ance.

Recreations.

Amusements.

The lotus.

Cairo is traversed by a canal which issues from the Nile a little below the old town, and, having passed through immense and innumerable heaps of rubbish, enters the modern capital on the south side, goes out at the north, and winding round the wall, makes a second entrance on the west, and terminates in the Birket el Esbequier. This artificial river is of the greatest consequence to the inhabitants ; for, besides furnishing them while the inundation continues with an abundant supply of water for all the purposes of domestic life, it affords the means of replenishing a variety of small lakes, both inside and outside the walls, on which they ply their pleasure-boats, and enjoy a variety of other recreations suited to their indolent luxury or to the softness of their delicious climate. On the borders of these, especially within the town, may be seen in an evening fireworks pouring their light into the air, dancing-dogs, dancing-monkeys, dancing-girls, and all the people making merry and rejoicing, as in the days of old when the Nile had attained its due elevation, and promised to bless their fields with an ample increase. In one of these sheets of water is observed the lotus,—that mysterious plant so highly esteemed by the ancient Egyptians, the flower of which contrasts so beautifully with the liquid ground on which it reposes, as well as with the arid waste by which it is surrounded.

The citadel, which occupies part of the ridge of Mo-



MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASSAN AT CAIRO.

Page 345.

kattam, is a place of considerable strength, but, like CHAP. VIII most other ancient buildings in Egypt, greatly encumbered with ruins. The palace of the pasha is not worthy of notice on any other account than as being the residence of so distinguished a person when he chooses to live in his capital. It is a small house, plain, and without any exterior decoration, except that it has more glass-windows in front than Turkish dwellings usually exhibit. The Well of Joseph, in the middle of the fortress, calls us back to the twelfth century, the era of the renowned Saladin, by whom it was excavated, and whose name, Yousef, it continues to bear. It is about 45 feet in circumference at the top, and is dug through the soft calcareous rock to the depth of about 270 feet, where it meets a spring of brackish water on a level with the Nile, from which indeed it is derived,—owing its saline impregnation to the nature of the soil through which it has filtered. The water is raised in buckets by means of two wheels turned by oxen,—the one being on the surface of the ground, the other at the depth of 150 feet. The main use of this celebrated cistern, Its use. besides partly supplying the garrison, is to irrigate the adjoining gardens, and keep alive the little verdure which adorns the interior of the fortress; but it is preserved in tolerable repair, from the consideration that, were the place ever subjected to a siege, the stream of Joseph's Well would become the sole reliance of the troops as well as of the numerous inhabitants.

The memory of Saladin is farther associated with the citadel through the medium of a ruin called Joseph's Hall, and which is understood to have formed part of the palace of that warlike prince. The columns, it is manifest, have been conveyed thither from some more ancient building at Memphis or elsewhere, being generally monolithic, tall, and massy, and adorned with highly-wrought capitals. In the days of Saracenic magnificence, this must have been a truly splendid edifice, meriting in some degree the praises bestowed upon the royal residences of that aspiring and ingenious people. But it is

The citadel.

Palace of the pasha.

Well of Joseph.

Its use.

Joseph's hall.

CHAP. VIII. now in a very dilapidated condition, part being converted into a magazine, and part used as a granary ; while the whole has such a waste and mournful appearance, as to be, in truth, more desolate and less interesting than if it were a complete ruin.*

Effects of recent explosion.

Ruins of Saladin's palace.

But, in describing Joseph's Hall, we apprehend that we have spoken of an architectural relic which no longer exists. In the year 1824, the citadel was much shaken by the explosion of a magazine ; whence arose the necessity of a thorough repair in several of the remaining buildings of the fortress. Among the ruins pointed out for demolition were the shattered walls of Saladin's palace ; on the site of which was about to be erected a quadrangle, meant probably for the better accommodation of the troops. The roof of this edifice, which might long have withstood the ravages of time, was very much admired. It was formed of a succession of little domes made of wood, into which were introduced concave circles containing octagons of blue and gold. The corners and arches of the buildings were carved in a very superior manner, and in many places the colours and gilding continued perfectly bright.

Necropolis of Cairo

Cairo, although it cannot boast of an origin so ancient as that of Thebes, nor of a mythology which connected the present life so closely with the next, has nevertheless a city of tombs ; a necropolis on which has been lavished much treasure, combined with a certain portion of architectural taste. The desert towards the east is studded with sepulchres and mausoleums, some of which produce a very striking effect. As every Turk throughout the empire, from the grand seignior to the meanest peasant, is compelled to be of some profession ; and as every calling has its peculiar head-dress, which is represented on a pole at the grave of the deceased,—a burial-place in a Moslem country has necessarily a singular appearance. The celebrated tombs of the Mamlouks are going fast to decay, their boasted magnificence

Moslem tomb.

* Richardson, vol. i. p. 48.



PART OF THE CITY OF TOMBS AT CAIRO.

being now limited to a gilt inscription ; but, in order that CHAP. VIII.
the reader may be enabled to form a judgment as to their grandeur in former days, we insert a drawing taken Tombs of the Mamlouks. from the voluminous work on Egypt published by the imperial government of France.

The cemetery of the pasha is the most sumptuous of modern structures in the Necropolis of Cairo. It is a vaulted stone building, consisting of five domes, under which, in splendid chambers composed of marble, are laid the bodies of his two sons, Toussoun and Ishmael, and of his favourite wife, the mother of these youths. Having mentioned this lady, it may not be out of place to add that she possessed an astonishing degree of influence over her impetuous husband, who always regarded her as the foundation of his good fortune. She was much esteemed too, and beloved by the people ; for her power was uniformly exerted on the side of justice and mercy. Much of her time was occupied in receiving petitions, though it was seldom necessary for her to present them to the pasha, as her ascendency was too well known by the ministers to require this last appeal. If, however, in consequence of any demur on their part, she had to apply to him, he answered their remonstrance by saying,— “ ‘Tis enough. By my two eyes ! if she requires it, the thing must be done, be it through fire, water, or stone.”

Mohammed Ali generally resides at Shoubra, where Palace at Shoubra. he has built a splendid palace, and planted a garden after the European fashion. The ceilings, executed by a Grecian artist, are lofty and vaulted, ornamented with gold and with representations of landscapes, or of palaces and colonnades, the whole being painted in light and pleasing colours. The sultana’s private sitting-room is still more magnificent. During the heats of summer his highness occupies an apartment below, particularly adapted for coolness, having a marble fountain in the centre amply supplied with a constant stream of water. On one of the walls is inscribed, in large Arabic characters, a verse from the Koran, signifying “ an hour of justice is worth seventy days of prayer.”

Sultana’s apartment.

CHAP. VIII. But the chief embellishment of the place is a grand pavilion, about 250 feet long by 200 broad. On its sides run four galleries or colonnades, composed of elegant pillars of the finest white marble, surrounding a sunken court six feet deep, paved throughout with the same beautiful material. At each corner of the colonnade is a terrace over which water passes into the court below in a murmuring cascade, having on its ledges figures of fish, sculptured so true to nature that they appear to move in the flowing stream. The whole supply of water rises again through a fountain in the centre, and reappears in a beautiful jet-d'eau, lofty, sparkling, and abundant. In fine weather the pasha occasionally resorts to this splendid fountain with the inmates of his harem, who row about in the flooded court for the amusement of his highness, while he is seated in the colonnade. Great is the commotion when the ladies descend into the garden. A signal is given and the gardeners vanish in a moment. Mrs Lushington was struck with the ruddy cheeks and healthy appearance of these men. They are principally Greeks; and the gay colours of their fanciful costume,—each with a nosegay or bunch of fruit in his hand,—combined with the luxuriant scenery around, gave them more the semblance of actors in a ballet representing a *fête* in Arcadia than the real labourers of a Turkish despot.*

This chapter would be incomplete were we not to compare what Egypt is at present with what it was at the beginning of the century.

When Mohammed assumed the command anarchy reigned in every department. The country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of the Mamlouks, aided by the Bedouin Arabs, the Albanians, and the Turks, with many rival chieftains. The soldiers were mutinous; the finances were exhausted; property was insecure; agriculture was neglected; and commerce languished. But now every thing is improved; the wild Arabs are submissive; the military are controlled,

Grand pavilion.

Fountain.

Amusements of the harem.

The gardeners.

Former state of Egypt.

Distraction and anarchy.

* Narrative of a Journey, p. 128.

lodged in barracks or tents, and regularly paid ; the CHAP. VIII. finances prodigiously increased ; new articles of produce raised ; and trade carried on to an extent formerly unknown. The whole country from Alexandria to Syéné is perfectly tranquil, and travellers pass unmolested with as much freedom and safety as on the continent of Europe. It is not pretended that the viceroy has not his failings ; he has many : but to estimate his character he should be judged by the standard of other Mohammedian princes ; of the pashas of Syria or Turkey for example ;—and which of all these can be compared to him ? It is hardly fair to try him by our notions of excellence, where every thing,—custom, religion, government,—is so different. His defects are those of education and example ; his improvements are the fruit of his own genius and patriotism.*

The latest intelligence from Egypt describes the pasha as still engaged in furthering the general improvement of his country, as well as the dissemination of knowledge among all classes of his subjects. We are told that he has proceeded so far in his imitation of European manners as to have instituted a legislative assembly, in which he not only permits the discussion of political principles, but even the examination of his own measures in the exercise of government. So confident is he in the wisdom or equity of his administration, that he hesitates not to invite the scrutiny of the ablest men in his dominions, and to submit to their revision his system of finance, commerce, and criminal jurisprudence.

Perhaps the reports daily received in Europe respecting the general advance of civilisation among the inhab-

* Quarterly Review, vol. xxx. p. 508. Mr Carne remarks, that the firm and decisive character of Mohammed is in nothing more visible than in the perfect security and quietness that reign throughout his dominions. The traveller there dreams no more of violence than he would do in any town throughout Scotland or Wales ; from the capital to the Cataracts every man's hand is at peace with him, and he may ramble along the banks of the Nile with as entire an ease and *abandon* as on those of his native rivers, or in his own garden at home.—*Recollections of the East*, p. 284.

Present
order and
subordina-
tion.

Character of
the viceroy.

Progress of
improve-
ment.

Introduction
of European
customs.

CHAP. VIII. bitants of Egypt, must be allowed to partake of that very natural exaggeration which seems inseparable from a narrative of unexpected events. Mr Lane, whose means of information cannot be questioned, assures us that the manners of western nations have not yet spread to any great extent among the subjects of the Egyptian viceroy, though the higher classes every where show a disposition to lay aside their prejudices in favour of ancient customs and modes of living.

Legislative assembly.

With regard to the legislative assembly, said to have been instituted by his highness, the slightest glance at the actual state of the government will convince every one that there does not exist any deliberative body which can with propriety be described as a popular representation. The will of the pasha is still absolute ; but it is admitted that he has effected a great reform, by the introduction of European tactics, military and naval, the results of which have already been considerable, and will yet be more extensive. By convincing the Turks that our science is vastly superior to their own, the changes to which they have recently submitted have made them more desirous to learn the full extent of our acquirements, whether in theory or in practice.

Hopeful circumstances.

There is a circumstance which, however little valued by the unreflecting mind, is considered by the more philosophical among the Moslems as extremely portentous, while it is hailed by Christians as an omen of brightest promise. The affluent orders in Egypt have been led to imitate the Franks in their luxuries ; several of the more aspiring families began by adopting the use of the knife and fork ; the habit of openly drinking wine immediately followed, and has become common among the higher officers of the government. That a remarkable indifference to religion is indicated by this innovation is evident to all ; and the principles of the dominant class will undoubtedly spread among the inferior orders of the community. The former have begun to undermine the foundations of Islamism : the latter as yet seem to look on with apathy, or at least with

Imitation of European manners.

resignation to the decrees of Providence ; but they will probably soon assist in the work, and the overthrow of the whole fabric may reasonably be expected to ensue at a period not very remote.

The acquisition of a powerful empire, independent of the Porte, appears to have been all along the grand and almost the sole object of the pasha ; and with that view he has introduced many European sciences, arts, and manufactures, which have hitherto rather occupied than enriched his people. He has established a printing-office ; but the works which have issued from it have hardly any intention besides that of instructing his officers, naval, military, and civil. A newspaper is printed at another press ; its paragraphs, however, are seldom on any other subject than the affairs of the government. It is in Turkish and Arabic. Sometimes three numbers of it appear in a week ; at other times only one is published in a month.

It is not denied even by his most ardent admirers that the policy of Mohammed Ali is in several respects erroneous, and that his people are severely oppressed ; but

it is at the same time admitted that the circumstances in which he has been placed offer large excuses for his conduct. To judge of his character fairly, we should compare him with another Turkish reformer, his nominal sovereign, the sultan ; and it will be found that in every point of view he has shown great superiority to him, especially in the discipline of his troops. While the latter has been closely imitating Europeans in matters comparatively trivial, such as the dress and appointments of his soldiers, the pasha has attained much more important objects. It is, however, greatly to be desired, for the relief of the natives, who now suffer much in consequence of his ambitious projects, that he were either acknowledged an independent prince, or induced to join cordially with the Porte in some scheme of general improvement, applicable to their subjects on both shores of the Mediterranean. For the sake of Egypt, so long the prey of anarchy and revenge, we hope that no event

Aim of the pasha.

Military schemes.

True mode of judging of it.

Sources of relief.

CHAP. VIII. will occur to check the progress of civilisation, or to re-plunge it into hopeless ignorance and civil broils.

Influence of the character of the ruler. It is manifest that its prosperity depends in a great measure upon the character of the person who shall succeed the present viceroy. Ibrahim his son, and the Defturdar, who is his son-in-law, will probably divide his choice. The former is more likely to obtain his recommendation, as well as the sanction of the Sublime Porte, because he is more friendly than the other to the regeneration which has been effected throughout the country with results so favourable even to the supreme government. Should the election fall on the husband of Ali's daughter, the consequences will be deplorable ; for, it is said, he is not only a decided enemy to the Franks and to the late innovations, but regards them both with the eye of a bigoted Mussulman.

CHAPTER IX.

The Oases, Ancient Berenice, and Desert of the Thebaid.

Meaning of the Term Oasis—Those of Egypt described in various and opposite Colours—Used as Places of Exile—Their Number—The Great Oasis—Described by Sir A. Edmonstone—Ancient Buildings—Necropolis or Cemetery—Supposed Origin of such Land—Western Oasis—First visited by Sir A. Edmonstone—El Cazar—Soil—Position—The Little Oasis—El Kassar—Greek Temple—Fountain—El Haix—El Moele—Oasis of Siwah—Description of Towns—Of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon—Fountain of the Sun—Sacred Lake—Other Oases—Desert of the Thebaid—Berenice—Trade—Account of an imaginary City by Caius Iliad—Situation and Extent of Berenice—Emerald Mountains—Present Condition of Miners—Inhabitants of the Desert—Sharkin—Myos Hormus—Cosseir.

THE territory of Egypt includes certain fertile spots in the Libyan Desert, which, from the peculiarity of their situation, amidst an ocean of sand, have been denominated islands. The term oasis, in the ancient language of the country, signifies an inhabited place, a distinction sufficiently intelligible when contrasted with the vast wilderness around, in which even the most savage tribes have not ventured to take up their abode. It has been observed at the same time, that as this descriptive epithet is applied to a cluster of oases as well as to a single spot of verdant ground, the use of it has become somewhat ambiguous. In this respect, indeed, they bear a striking resemblance to islands in the great sea, where one of larger size is usually surrounded by others of smaller dimensions; all taking their name from some circumstance, geographical or physical, which is common to the whole.

CHAP. IX.
Territory of
Egypt.

The oasis.

CHAP. IX.

Different accounts.

Greek and Roman descriptions.

Three oases.

The Great Oasis.

Its description.

Like Egypt itself, these isolated dependencies have been depicted in very opposite colours by different writers. The Greeks called them the Islands of the Blessed ; and without doubt they appear delightful in the eyes of the traveller who has, during many painful weeks, suffered the privations and fatigue of the desert. But it is well known that they were generally regarded in a less favourable aspect by the Greeks and Romans, who not unfrequently fixed upon them as places of banishment. The state-malefactor, and the ministers of the Christian church, too often comprehended in the same class, were, at various periods, during the second and third centuries, condemned to waste their days in the remote solitude of the Libyan Oases. These were usually reckoned three in number ; the Great Oasis, of which the principal town is El Kargeh ; the Little Oasis, or that of El Kas-sar ; and the Northern Oasis, more frequently called Siwah. To these is now added the Western Oasis, which does not appear to have been mentioned by any ancient geographer except Olympiodorus, and which was never seen by any European until Sir Archibald Edmonstone visited it about fifteen years ago.

The Great Oasis, the most southern of the whole, consists of a number of insulated spots, which extend in a line parallel to the course of the Nile, separated from one another by considerable intervals of sandy waste, and stretching not less than a hundred miles in latitude. M. Poncet, who examined it in 1698, says that it contains many gardens watered with rivulets, and that its palm-groves exhibit a perpetual verdure. It is the first stage of the Darfur caravan, which assembles at Siout, being about four days' journey from that town, and nearly the same distance from Farshout. The exertions of Browne, Cailliaud, Edmonstone, and Henniker, have supplied to the European reader the most ample details relative to this interesting locality, which, there can be no doubt, must have been the scene of civilized life, and perhaps of political institutions, at a very remote era.

An interesting account of the architectural ruins of

the Great Oasis is to be found in the pages of Sir Archibald, who tells that, about ■ mile and ■ half towards the north of El Kargeh, he observed on an eminence a building, which proved to be a small quadrangular temple, 31 feet long by 21 broad, of which three sides are still remaining. The interior walls are covered with figures and hieroglyphs, greatly defaced, but of distinguished elegance. There was the usual enclosure of unburnt brick,—a defence necessary in a country so much exposed to hostile incursions as this has always been. From hence he discovered a larger temple at a short distance to the north-west, and on a high ground still farther in the same direction several buildings like the ruins of an Arab town. On approaching the former edifice, he was struck with the beauty of its situation, in the midst of a rich wood, consisting of palm, acacia, and other trees, with a stream of water in front.

In point of magnitude it far exceeded any thing he had hitherto seen. The entry is through a *dromos*, of which the enclosures are so broken that it is difficult to discern the shape. He could distinguish, however, that it had been formed by a parapet wall surmounted with a cornice, connecting ten columns, with spaces on each side to admit an easy approach. The temple stands east and west, and a rich frieze runs all round the top. The front is completely covered with colossal figures and hieroglyphical inscriptions, which, as they extend but half-way to the north and south sides, give the whole exterior rather an unfinished appearance. The great doorway is much ornamented, and leads to a magnificent apartment, 60 feet by 54, with twelve columns, 13 feet in circumference. The second chamber, 54 feet by 18, is divided from the first by a sort of screen, formed by a wall lower than that of the temple, intersected by four columns, which, together with four others in the centre of the apartment, now fallen, are of the same size with those above mentioned. The chamber is traced all over with figures and other carvings on stucco, retaining marks of paint, particularly blue and red; whereas the

CHAP. IX.
Ruins of the
Oasis.

Great temple.

Figures and
inscriptions.

Interior.

CHAP. IX. first is quite plain, except on the west side. The third apartment, 31 feet by 29, is ornamented likewise, and contains eight columns, but of much smaller dimensions than the others. Last comes the *adytum*, or shrine, 20 feet by 8, richly carved, though blackened with smoke. On each side are two compartments detached, but so choked up that it was impossible to ascertain their shape. The roof of the rest of the building is fallen in, except some slabs occasionally supported by pillars; but that of the adytum, which is lower, is still entire. One of the stones used for covering this sanctuary is 35 feet by 19 feet four inches, and two feet three inches thick.

Detached buildings.

To the east of the temple are three detached doorways, at different intervals, and of different proportions. As they do not resemble the propyla which are usual in other parts of Egypt, Sir Archibald is of opinion that this edifice was originally surrounded with a triple wall, in the manner described by Diodorus as applicable to the fane of Jupiter Ammon. The first is a solid building with figures all round it; among others, on the inside, is a colossal representation of Osiris at a banquet. The same is again found on the western front. On the roof are four spread eagles or vultures, painted red and blue. The second doorway, which is at some distance in the same direction, but not in the same line, is considerably higher than even the temple itself. Only one-half is standing, having a few figures inside carved in relief, and some remains of brickwork strongly piled on the top. As it is too high for any purposes of defence, a conjecture has been advanced, that it may have been the residence of one of the Stelite hermits, of whose superstitious practices many traces still remain. The last of the three propyla is low and imperfect; but it is remarkable for an inscription in Greek letters, with which the eastern end is completely covered, containing a rescript, published in the second year of the Emperor Galba, relating to a reform in the administration of Egypt.

Representation of Osiris.

Conjectures regarding the ruins.

In regard to what appeared at first as the ruins of an

Arab town, we are informed, that, upon a closer examination, it proved to be a necropolis or cemetery, consisting of a great variety of buildings, not fewer than two or three hundred, each the receptacle of a number of mummies. Most part of them are square, and surmounted with a dome similar to the small mosques erected over the tombs of sheiks ; having generally a corridor running round, which produces an ornamental effect very striking at a distance, and gives them ■ nearer resemblance to Roman than to any existing specimen of Greek or Egyptian architecture. Some few are larger than the rest. One, in particular, is divided into aisles like our churches ; and that it has been used as such by the early Christians is clearly evinced by the traces of saints painted on the walls. In all of them there is a Greek cross, and also the celebrated Egyptian hieroglyph, the *crux ansata*, or cross with a handle, which, as originally signifying life, would appear to have been adopted as ■ Christian emblem, either from its similarity to the shape of the cross, or from its being considered the symbol of a future existence. But the chief peculiarity is a large square hole in the centre of each, evidently for the purpose of containing a mummy, and which, from the fragments and wrappings that lay scattered about, had probably been ransacked for the sake of plunder. Edmonstone imagines these sepulchres to have been constructed by the Romans at an early period, since it is generally believed that the practice of embalming was gradually discontinued in Egypt after the extension of Christianity ; but he adds, “ among the various receptacles for the remains of the dead, from the stupendous pyramid to the rudest cavern, I know of none existing or recorded ■ all corresponding to them in shape and appearance.”*

There are several other ruins in the neighbourhood of El Kargeh, which appear to combine the relics of Egyptian paganism with the symbols of Christian worship,

CHAP. IX.
Ancient
necropolis.

Ruins of a
Christian
church.

Supposed
Roman
origin.

Ruins of
El Kargeh.

* Edmonstone's Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt, p. 62, &c.

CHAP. IX.

and thereby lead us to conclude that the edifices may have been repaired in the early ages of our faith after being relinquished by their ancient occupants. For a more minute account of these remains we take leave to refer the curious reader to the work already indicated.

Sir F. Henniker's descrip-
tion.

Sir F. Henniker speaks rather contemptuously of the ecclesiastical architecture which happened to fall under his notice in that oasis. There is a temple which he describes as a small building composed of petty blocks of stone, the pillars of which are only two feet six inches in diameter, and "even these, instead of being formed of one solid block, are constructed of millstones." He adds, that the surface of the earth in the vicinity of the temple is very remarkable; it is covered with a lamina of salt and sand mixed, and has the same appearance as if a ploughed field had been flooded over, then frozen, and the water drawn off from under the ice.*

Singular
appearance of
the soil.Origin of
these
localities.Source of
moisture.Celebrated
for fertility.

This remark suggests a question relative to the origin of these grassy islands in the desert. Major Rennell thinks that they may be attributed to the vegetation which would necessarily be occasioned by springs of water; the decaying plants constantly producing new soil until, in some instances, it has increased to the extent of several leagues. They are universally surrounded by higher ground,—a circumstance which accounts for the abundance of moisture. Fezzan, in particular, is nearly encircled with mountains; and the descent from the western barrier of Egypt into the middle level of the Greater Oasis is distinctly marked by Mr Browne. Their fertility has always been deservedly celebrated. Strabo mentions the superiority of their wine; Abulfeda and Edrisi the luxuriance of the palm-trees; and our poet Thomson extols

—“the tufted isles
That verdant rise amid the Libyan wild.”

Summer, v. 912.

The climate, however, is extremely variable, especi-

* Notes, p. 188.

ally in winter. Sometimes the rains in the Western CHAP. IX. Oasis are very abundant, and fall in torrents, as appears from the furrows in the rocks ; but throughout the sea-
son Sir A. Edmonstone made his visit, there was none at all, and the total want of dew in the hot months sufficiently proves the general dryness of the atmosphere. The springs are all strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, and hot at their sources ; but, as they continue equally full during the whole year, they supply to the inhabitants one of the principal means of life. The water, notwithstanding, cannot be used until it has been cooled in an earthen jar.

It was in 1819 that the author we have just named, in company with two friends, Messrs Houghton and Master, joined a caravan of Bedouins at Beni Ali, and entered the Libyan Desert, proceeding towards the south-west. At the end of six days, having travelled about one hundred and eighty miles, they reached the first village of the Western Oasis, which is called Bellata. Having explained to the inhabitants that their object was "old buildings," they were informed that there were some in the neighbourhood. "Accordingly," says Sir Archibald, "in the evening we rode to see them, and in our way passed through a beautiful wood of acacias, the foliage of which, at a little distance, recalled English scenery to our recollection. The trees far exceeded in size any I had ever seen of the kind, and upon measuring the trunk of one it proved to be 17 feet 3 inches in circumference.*

El Cazar, however, appears to be the principal town of the oasis. The situation of the place, we are told, is perfectly lovely, being on an eminence at the foot of a line of rock which rises abruptly behind it, and encircled by extensive gardens filled with palm, acacia, citron, and various other kinds of trees, some of which are rarely seen even in those regions. The principal edifice is an old temple or convent called Daer el Hadjur, about fifty feet long by twenty-five wide, but presenting nothing

Variable
climate.

Journey in
the Libyan
Desert.

Wood of
acacias.

El Cazar.

* Journey to Two of the Oases, p. 44.

CHAP. IX.

Daer el
Hadjur.

either very magnificent or curious. The first chamber is 24 feet by 20, supported by four pillars five feet in diameter at the shaft,—the walls, as far as they are visible, being traced with figures and sacred inscriptions. The winged globe, encompassed by the serpent, the emblem of eternity, is carved over one of the doors.

Villages of
the oasis.

This oasis is composed of twelve villages, of which ten are within five or six miles of each other; the remaining two being much more distant at the entrance of the plain, and scarcely looked upon as belonging to this division. The sheik expressed his belief that there was inhabited land to the westward,—adding that some Arabs, who had lately attempted to explore the country in that direction, met at the end of three days such a terrible whirlwind as compelled them to return.

Character of
the soil.

The prevailing soil is a very light red earth, fertilized entirely by irrigation. The people are Bedouins, who acknowledge the sovereignty of the pasha, and pay an annual tribute. The only manufacture worthy of notice is that of indigo, the method of producing which is very simple: the plant, when dried, is put into an earthen jar with hot water, and agitated by means of a palm branch, resembling the handle of a churn, until the colour is pressed out. The liquid is then strained through the bark of a tree into another jar, where it is left for eight or nine days, during which time part of the water escapes by trickling through a small aperture half-way down the side of it, leaving the sediment at the bottom. It is afterwards put into a broad but very shallow hole formed in the sand, which absorbs the remaining liquid, and leaves the indigo in solid cakes on the surface. This commodity is the property of the richer inhabitants, and is one of the very few articles which the pasha has not monopolized, probably from ignorance of its existence in that remote district.*

Manufacture
of indigo.

The latitude of the Western Oasis is nearly the same as that of Thebes and the Great Oasis, or about 26°

Latitude.

* Journey, p. 58.

north. The longitude eastward from Greenwich may be a little more or less than twenty-eight degrees, El Kargeh being estimated at thirty degrees ten minutes, and the distance between it and Bellata amounting to journey with camels of thirty-five hours, or one hundred and five miles. We may add, that it was on his return from the remoter oasis to the Nile that Sir Archibald examined the cluster of islands of which El Kargeh is the chief, and where he found the remains of the magnificent temple already described.

The Little Oasis, or that of El Kassar, has been less visited than either of the two others which have been longest known to European travellers. We owe the latest and most distinct account to Belzoni, who, proceeding in search of it westward from the valley of Faiyoun, arrived at the close of the fourth day on the brink of what he calls the Elloah,—that is, the El Wah, or El Ouah, from which the Greeks formed the more common term oasis. He describes it as a valley surrounded with high rocks, forming a spacious plain of twelve or fourteen miles in length, and about six in breadth. There is only a small portion cultivated at present, but there are many proofs remaining that it must at one time have been all under crop, and that with proper management it might again be easily rendered fertile. The first village he entered was called Zaboo, where he met with a kind reception on the whole, although the simple inhabitants could not comprehend why a man should encounter the toils and perils of the desert merely to gratify his curiosity in regard to old buildings. They endeavoured to persuade him that the devil had taken possession of all the vaults which he wished to examine; and when the traveller came out they expected to find him loaded with treasure,—the only intelligible object for which, in their estimation, he could brave so formidable an enemy.

From Zaboo he went to El Kassar, the chief village in that group of oases. There he saw the remains of a Greek temple, consisting of a high wall with two lateral

CHAP. IX.

Longitude of
the Western
Oasis.El Kassar, or
the Little
Oasis.Belzoni's
description.

Zaboo.

Village of
El Kassar.

CHAP. IX. wings, and an arch in the centre. It is so situated that it must have been built on the ruins of another of greater dimensions. Its breadth is about sixty feet, and its length, it is presumed, must have been in proportion.

Greek temple. Tombs in the rock. There were several tombs excavated in the rock somewhat like those of Egypt, in which Mr Belzoni found various sarcophagi of baked clay with the mummies inside,—their folding neither so rich nor so fine, the linen of a coarse sort, and the bodies, being without asphaltum, not so well preserved. His attention was also attracted by the account which he had received of a well sixty

Singular well. feet deep, whose water varies in its temperature twice every day. When he first put his hand into it, being a little after sunset, he felt it warm ; but at midnight it was apparently much warmer ; and before sunrise it was again somewhat cooler, though less so than in the evening. “For instance,” says he, “if we were to suppose the water to have been 60° in the evening it might be 100° at midnight, and in the morning about 80° ; but when I returned at noon it appeared quite cold, and might be calculated in proportion to the other at 40°.” Whatever may be the cause of this apparent change of temperature, it was of importance to prove the existence of the fountain itself, as it has been described by Herodotus, who says that there is a well near the temple of Jupiter Ammon, the water of which is cold at noon and midnight, and warm in the morning and evening.*

Changes of temperature. Occurrence of similar fountains. It is now known that such fountains are not peculiar to any one of the oases, several having been discovered in other parts of the Libyan Desert ; and hence the argument of Belzoni, with regard to the situation of the temple of Ammon, entirely loses its force. All the waters in that division of Africa are strongly impregnated with saline and mineral substances,—an example of which, in the form of a rivulet, he records as having presented itself to his observation in the neighbourhood of Zaboo. “It is,” says he, “curious water ; for if white

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 218.

woollen cloth be put into it, after twenty-four hours it is taken out as black as any dyer could make it." The change of temperature is obviously effected by the chemical qualities of the strata through which the spring makes its way under ground, modified in a certain degree by evaporation and the presence of light during the heat of the day.

CHAP. IX.
Chemical character of the water.

As to the natives, we are told that their mode of living Native food. is very simple : rice, of which they have great abundance, is their chief food ; but it is of so inferior a sort that they have little traffic in it, and what portion of commerce they do enjoy is only among the Bedouins who go thither yearly to purchase dates. They have a few camels and donkeys, several cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep, and could be happy in this Elysium, separated as it is from the rest of mankind ; but, subjoins Mr Belzoni, "they are mortal, and they must have their evils!" Their greatest enemies are their own neighbours Warfare. at another village, which they described as being on the opposite side of a high rock, removed from them three days' journey. They are continually in warfare, and often attack one another for the most trifling causes.*

Animals.

Warfare.

This traveller was very desirous to cross the desert northwards to the Oasis of Siwah, but he could not, either by promises or entreaties, prevail upon any one to become his guide in so perilous an adventure. He then resolved to proceed in a south-western direction, in search of a similar district known at El Kassar by the name of El Haix, and situated at the distance of thirty hours' El Haix. journey. Upon his arrival, he found it a tract of land forming a crescent of more than twenty miles in extent, and presenting some spots of fertile ground and various springs of excellent water. He traced the remains of an ancient town, the baths of which are still in a state of good preservation. A Christian church of Grecian architecture, and the ruins of a convent, were likewise clearly distinguished ; but as the guide selected by Belzoni was

Peril of crossing the desert.

Ancient remains.

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 198.

CHAP. IX.

recognised at El Haix as the sheik of one of the predatory hordes of the Bedouins, who from time to time carry terror over the face of the desert, a regard to his personal safety induced him to shorten his visit.

El Moele.

Soon after his return to El Kassar he set out in a south-easterly course for a place called El Moele, where he once more found the ruins of a small village, and the remains of a very large church and convent. Some of the paintings on the wall are finely preserved, particularly the figures of the twelve apostles on the top of a niche over an altar ; the gold is still to be seen in several parts, and the features are perfectly distinct. El Moele is situated at the extremity of a long tract of land which was cultivated in former times, but is now abandoned for want of water. It extends more than ten miles from west to east ; from which latter point it required a long day's journey to bring him again to the banks of the Nile.

Oasis of Siwah.

We have still to mention the Oasis of Siwah, in some respects the most interesting of the whole, and more especially as connected with the traditions of Jupiter Ammon, whose temple it is generally understood to contain. It is situated in lat. $29^{\circ} 12'$ N., and in long. $26^{\circ} 6'$ E. ; is about six miles long, and between four and five in breadth ; and the nearest distance from the river of Egypt does not exceed one hundred and twenty miles. A large proportion of the land is occupied by date-trees ; but the palm, the pomegranate, the fig, the olive, the vine, the apricot, the plum, and even the apple, are said to flourish in the gardens. No soil can be more fertile. Tepid springs, too, holding salts in solution, are numerous throughout the district ; and it is imagined that the frequency of earthquakes is connected with the geological structure of the surrounding country.

Chief objects of cultivation.

Town of Siwah.

" The external appearance of the town of Siwah is striking and singular, as well as its internal arrangements. It is built on a steep conical rock of testaceous limestone, and, both in its form and its crowded population, bears a resemblance to a bee-hive. The streets,

narrow and crooked, are like staircases, and so dark, from the overhanging stories, that the inhabitants use a lamp at noonday. In the centre of the town the streets are generally five feet broad, and about eleven feet high ; but some are so low that you must stoop to pass through them. Each house has several floors, the upper communicating with the lower by galleries and chambers which cover the streets. The number of stories visible is three or four, but there are in fact five or six. On every marriage the father builds a lodgement for his son above his own, so that the town is continually rising higher. The houses and walls are for the most part built of natron or mineral soda, and rock-salt mixed with sand, coated with a gypseous earth which preserves the salt from melting. The town is divided into two quarters : the upper is inhabited only by married people, women, and children ; the lower by widowers and youths, who, though allowed to go into the other quarter by day, must retire at dusk under the penalty of a fine. The total population of the town is between 2000 and 2500 ; that of the oasis at large is supposed to amount to 8000 souls.”*

But a description of the temple of Ammon must prove more interesting to the reader than any details respecting the mode of life pursued by barbarians. A league and a half, then, from the town of Siwah, towards the east, are the ruins of an edifice built in the Egyptian style, to which the natives give the name of Om Beydeh. The vestiges of a triple enclosure, enormous stones lying on the ground, and masses still standing, prove it to have been a monument of the first order. The portion still remaining and in tolerable preservation is thirty-three feet in length, and consists of part of a gateway and two great walls, which are covered with three immense stones measuring thirty-four feet by twenty-seven. The only apartment that could be distinctly made out

CHAP. IX.

Character of
the streetsHeight of
houses.Division of
the town.Temple of
Ammon.Present
remains.

* Modern Traveller, Egypt, vol. ii. p. 200. Cabinet of Foreign Voyages, vol. i.

CHAP IX.

Egyptian character

Sculptures and decorations.

The roof.

Fanciful description.

Fountain of the sun.

was 112 feet in length ; the whole area of ruins being a rectangular space about 360 feet by 300.

The decorations are observed to bear the closest resemblance to those of the Egyptian monuments ; the figures, scenes, and arrangements, being entirely the same. Here is the god with the ram's head, such as is seen at Thebes and Latopolis, who also receives the homage of the priests. The ram itself, too, is the animal that most frequently occurs among the ornaments. The interior and the ceiling of the apartment still standing are richly adorned with hieroglyphic sculptures, in relief and coloured. The figures of the gods and priests form long processions, occupying three rows, surmounted with a multitude of carved slabs painted blue or green. The same style and the same cast of countenance are remarked here as in the monuments of the Thebaid,—the same costumes and sacrifices. The roof is occupied by two rows of gigantic vultures with extended wings, by tablets of hieroglyphs, and stars painted red on a blue ground. Under the ruins of the entrance-gate, and on two of the faces of a rectangular block, is sculptured in full relief the figure of Typhon or the evil genius, about five feet high. A similar block has been used in the basis of the mosque ; being without doubt the pedestals of columns erected after the manner of the Typhonium of Edfou, to which these ruins bear a resemblance, though on a larger scale.*

This description, which does much credit to the penetrating eyes and vivid fancy of a French traveller, the zealous M. Drovetti, may be contrasted with the sober delineation of an Englishman, who saw no more than was actually to be seen in the mouldering walls of the famous El Birbe, which bestow a profound interest upon the Oasis of Siwah.†

Nearly a mile from these ruins, in a pleasant grove of date-palms, is still discovered the celebrated Fountain of

* Cabinet of Voyages, vol. i. p. 205.

† See Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, by W. G. Browne. Second Edition, p. 14, &c.

the Sun, dedicated of old to the Ammonian deity. It is a small marsh rather than a well, extending about ninety feet in length and sixty in width, but is at the same time perfectly transparent, though a constant disengagement of air reveals the chemical action which gives a peculiar character to its waters. At present, not less perceptibly than in the days of Herodotus, the temperature is subject to a diurnal change. In the night it is apparently warmer than in the day ; and in the morning, as was observed by the ancients, a steam rises from it, denoting the refrigeration of the atmosphere. Close by this spring, in the shade of the palm-grove, are the traces of a small temple, supposed to be the relics of the sanctuary mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as being near the Fountain of the Sun.

CHAP. IX.
Its present
appearance.

Diurnal
change of
temperature.

The character of the ruins now described carries back their date beyond the era of Christianity,—an inference which is confirmed by the appearance of a mountain in the neighbourhood, a great part of which has been converted into catacombs. Some of these sepulchral chambers are on a magnificent scale, and bear a considerable resemblance to the celebrated tombs of Thebes, having the same variety of apartments, and even of decoration, sculpture, and painting. But unfortunately none of them have escaped violation, and in the greater number nothing remains except relics of ancient mummies, crumbling bones, and torn linen. About ten years ago a part of the excavations was possessed by a tribe of Arabs, who turned them into a subterraneous village.

Character of
the ruins.

Size of the
chambers.

The interest of the traveller is still farther excited by a succession of lakes and temples which stretch into the desert towards the west ; all rendered sacred by religious associations and by the traditional legends of the native tribes. Tombs, catacombs, churches, and convents, are scattered over the waste, which awaken the recollections of the Christian to the early records of his faith, and which at the same time recall, even to the Pagan and the Mohammedan, events more interesting than are to be found in the vulgar annals of the human race, or can

Succession of
lakes and
temples.

CHAP. IX.

Kasr Roum.

Doric architecture.

Salt lake of Arashieh.

Superstition venera-tion.

Account of M. Drovetti.

touch the heart of any but those who are connected with a remote lineage by means of a family history. At a short distance from the sacred lake there is a temple of Roman or Greek construction, which in modern times bears the name of Kasr Roum. The portion still standing is divided into three apartments, the longest of which is fifty feet by twenty-two, and the height eighteen feet. The roof, composed of large stones, is still remaining in a part of the building ; but, generally speaking, both the covering and the walls have fallen down. Perhaps the only remarkable feature attending this building is the fact that the architecture is of the Doric order, the sculptures, cornices, and friezes, being executed with much care and precision,—a circumstance which cannot fail to excite surprise in a country surrounded by the immense deserts of Libya, and at the distance of not less than four hundred miles from the ancient limits of civilisation.

In the consecrated territory of that mysterious land is the salt lake of Arashieh, distant two days and a half from Siwah, in a valley enclosed by two mountains, and extending from six to seven leagues in circumference. So holy is it esteemed that M. Cailliaud could not obtain permission to visit its banks. Even the pasha's firman failed to alter the determination of the sheiks on this essential point. They declared that they would sooner perish than suffer a stranger to approach that sacred island, which, according to their belief, contained treasures and talismans of incalculable power. It is said to possess a temple, in which are the seal and sword of the prophet, the palladium of their independence, and not to be seen by any profane eye. A reasonable doubt may indeed be entertained as to these assertions ; for M. Drovetti, who accompanied a detachment of troops under Hassan Bey, walked round the borders of the lake, and observed nothing in its bosom but naked rocks. Mr Browne, too, remarks that he found “ misshapen rocks in abundance,” but nothing that he could positively decide to be ruins,—it being very unlikely, he adds, that

any should be there, the spot being entirely destitute of trees and fresh water. CHAP. IX.

Major Rennell has employed much learning to prove that the Oasis of Siwah is the site of the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon. He remarks that the variations, between all the authorities ancient and modern, amount to little more than a space equal to thrice the length of the oasis in question, which is at the utmost only six miles long. "And it is pretty clearly proved that no other oasis exists in that quarter within two or more days' journey; but on the contrary that Siwah is surrounded by a wide desert: so that it cannot be doubted that this oasis is the same with that of Ammon; and the edifice found there the *remains* of the celebrated temple from whence the oracles of Jupiter Ammon were delivered."*

Site of the
temple of
Jupiter
Ammon.

At different distances in the desert, toward the west, are other oases, the exact position and extent of which are almost entirely unknown to European geographers. The ancients, who we are satisfied had more certain intelligence with regard to that quarter of the globe than is yet possessed by the moderns, were wont to compare the surface of Africa to a leopard's skin; the little islands of fertile soil being as numerous as the spots on that animal. It is probable that these interesting retreats will soon be better known; for the authority of Mohammed Ali being recognised as far as his name is known, the traveller will find the usual facilities and protection which are so readily granted to the Franks whom an enlightened curiosity leads into his dominions.

Ancient
simile.

The desert which bounds the eastern side of the Egyptian valley, and stretches to the shores of the Red Sea, presents likewise to the philosopher several points worthy of consideration. Mr Irwin, who travelled from Kenneh to Cairo by a road which passes obliquely through the northern part of this wilderness, found

Eastern
desert.

* The Geographical System of Herodotus Examined and Explained, &c. vol. ii. p. 230. Second Edition.

CHAP. IX.

Verdant
spots in the
wilderness.Ancient
Berenice.Account of
Pliny.Exaggerated
description.Magnificent
ruins.

some delightful ravines in the hilly barrier by which it is guarded, ornamented with beautiful shrubs, and affording a safe retreat to the timid antelope. Some tufts of wild wheat, a date-tree, a well, and a grotto, call to mind the old anchorites who chose in these solitudes to relinquish all intercourse with the sinful world. Two verdant spots of a similar character, near the Arabian Gulf, between Suez and Cosseir, contain the monasteries of St Anthony and St Paul, surrounded with thriving orchards of dates, olives, and apricots.

But the most interesting object on the shores of the inlet just mentioned are the remains of Berenice, a town which connects the history of ancient Egypt with that of the Macedonian and Roman power in Africa, and at the same time indicates one of the channels through which commerce was carried on between the remoter parts of Asia and the nations of Europe. According to Pliny it was through Berenice that the principal trade of the Romans with India was conducted by means of caravans, which reached the Nile at Coptos, not far from the point at which the present shorter road by Cosseir touches the river. By this medium it is said that a sum not less than £400,000 was annually remitted by them to their correspondents in the East, in payment of merchandise which ultimately sold for a hundred times as much.

An exaggerated account of an ancient city, said to have been discovered in that neighbourhood, was published some years ago in a French work purporting to convey intelligence recently received from M. Cailliaud, a young traveller in Africa. The situation was described as being a few leagues from the Red Sea, and currently known among the Arabs by the name of Sekellé. The ruins consisted of many temples, palaces, and private houses still standing, so that they might in some respects be compared to the relics of Pompeii ; the architecture was Grecian, with some Egyptian ornaments ; several inscriptions seemed to prove that the town must have been built by the Ptolemies, while one

of the temples was evidently dedicated to Berenice. The CHAP. IX.
 hope of examining so many splendid monuments of
 ancient taste induced Belzoni and Mr Beechey to un-
 undertake a painful journey across the desert, from Esneh
 to the Red Sea ; in the course of which, after having
 inspected the surrounding country with the greatest
 minuteness, and that, too, under the direction of the
 same guide who had attended M. Caillaud, they had
 the mortification to discover that the ardent Frenchman,
 beguiled either by the mirage or by his own heated
 fancy, had seen towers, palaces, and temples, which to
 more ordinary observers were entirely invisible. The
 strictures of Belzoni, whose mind was entirely devoted
 to matters of fact, are more amusing than complaisant.
 "All that we saw was the summits of other lower moun- Report of
 tains, and at last we began to be persuaded that no such Belzoni.
 town existed, and that Monsieur Caliud (so he spells
 the name) had seen the great city only in his own im-
 agination. It was rather provoking to have undertaken
 such a journey in consequence of such a fabricated de-
 scription ; and I hope this circumstance will serve as a
 warning to travellers to take care to what reports they
 listen, and from whom they receive their information.
 From the accounts of persons who are so given to ex-
 aggeration, one cannot venture on a journey without
 running a risk of being led astray and disappointed, as
 we were in our search after the said town with its eight
 hundred houses,—and very like Pompeii!"

But his labour was at length rewarded by discovering the site of the real Berenice on the margin of the sea, and at no great distance from the position in which it is laid down by M. D'Anville. The ruins have assumed the appearance of little mounds ; but the lines of the principal streets, nevertheless, may still be distinctly traced, and even the forms of the houses, though these last are for the most part filled with sand. The materials used by the architects of Habesh were somewhat singular, for Belzoni assures us that he could see nothing but coral, roots, madrepore, and several petrifications of

Investiga-
tions of
Belzoni.

Baselessness
of the report.

Report of
Belzoni.

Discovery of
Berenice.

Materials.

CHAP. IX.

sea-weed. The temple, he adds, is built of a kind of soft calcareous and sandy stone, but decayed much by the air of the sea.

Origin of Berenice.

It is well known that Berenice was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus a little after the establishment of Myos Hormus. Situated in a lower part of the gulf, it facilitated navigation by enabling mariners to take advantage of the regular winds. The inland route between Coptos and Berenice was opened at the head of an army by the same prince, who formed stations along the line for the protection of travellers. This relation, which is given by Strabo, agrees with the Adulitic inscription preserved in Cosmas, which records the Ethiopian conquests of Ptolemy Euergetes, who seems to have adopted the commercial plans of his father, and to have endeavoured to extend them. The Romans, when they conquered Egypt immediately perceived the importance of these arrangements; Berenice became the centre of their Eastern trade, and Myos Hormus sunk to a subordinate rank. The only Greek author who gives an account of this emporium is the geographer just named. All the details, indeed, concerning the road from Coptos to Berenice are Roman. It occupied twelve days, and is estimated at 258 miles by Pliny as well as by the compiler of the Peutingerian Tables. The port of Habesh, the name that the harbour corresponding to Berenice now bears, is derived from an appellation given to the African shore in the parallel of Syené.*

Delightful situation.

The situation of this interesting town must have been delightful. The sea opens before it on the east; and, from the southern coast to the point of the cape, there is an amphitheatre of mountains, with a single break on the north-west, forming the communication which connects it with Egypt. Right opposite there is a fine harbour entirely made by nature, guarded on the east by a projecting rock, on the south by the land, and on the west by the town. The extent covered by the ruins was ascertained to be 2000 feet by 1600, which was calcu-

* Murray's Historical Account, vol. ii. p. 187.

lated to contain 4000 houses ; but that he might “not CHAP. IX.
be mistaken for another Caliud,” Mr Belzoni reduces Extent of
the number to 2000, which, at the rate of five to a the ruins.
family, gives a population of about 10,000 persons, old
and young. The temple, which measured 102 feet in
length by 43 in width, proved to be Egyptian both in
its plan and its architecture, having figures sculptured
in basso relievo, executed with considerable skill, to-
gether with many hieroglyphs. The plain that sur- Extensive
rounds the town is very extensive ; the nearest point in plain.
the mountains which form the crescent being not less
than five miles distant. The soil is so completely moist-
ened by the vapour from the sea as to be quite suitable
for vegetation, and would produce, if properly cultivated,
abundant pasture for camels, sheep, and other domestic
animals. At present it abounds with acacias and a small Present
tree called suvara, which last grows so close to the shore growth.
as to be under water every high tide. Unfortunately
there are neither wells nor springs in the neighbourhood,
and hence a difficulty in accounting for the supply of an
article so indispensable to a town such as Berenice must
have been during the government of the Ptolemies. It
is presumed that the contiguous hills afforded the means
of answering this claim, though at present no traces of
an aqueduct can be discovered.

From this narrative it should seem that the city which bore the name of Ptolemy’s mother was placed near the 24th degree of latitude, or in the same parallel with Syéné. The seashore in that vicinity is formed almost entirely of calcareous matter, in the shape of madrepores, corals, and shells, all aggregated into a solid mass like a rock, and stretching from the bank of sand which constitutes the boundary of the tide to a great distance into the water. A similar phenomenon occurs in Ceylon, where the lime held in solution at the mouths of the rivers combines with the siliceous and argillaceous ingredients of the beach, and gives rise to a continued extension of the coast, as well as to those coral reefs which prove so dangerous to the mariner. “ All the Inferences from this narrative. Curious phenomenon.

CHAP. IX.

Danger of
the coast.Emerald
mountains.Confirmation
of Bruce's
account.Attempt to
re-open the
mines.Sufferings of
the miners.

Arab tribes.

shore," says Belzoni, alluding to the neighbourhood of Berenice, "as far as we could see, was composed of a mass of petrifications of various kinds." In some places there are beds of sand, but there is not a spot for a boat to approach the beach without the risk of being staved against the rock.

At the distance of twenty-five miles, in a straight line from the Red Sea, are the famous Emerald Mountains, the highest of which, from ■ reference to its subterranean treasures, is called Zubara. These mines were formerly visited by Bruce, whose account of them is amply confirmed by the latest authors, who, in verifying his statements, do no more than justice to his memory, which was long and ungenerously reviled. The present Pasha of Egypt made an attempt, in the year 1818, to renew the process, which had been long relinquished, for finding those precious stones so much prized by the former conquerors of the land. About fifty men were employed when Mr Belzoni passed the establishment; but, although they had toiled six months, nothing was found to satisfy the avarice of their employer, whom, it is said, they execrated in their hearts. The mines or excavations made by the ancients were all choked up with the rubbish of the roof that had fallen in, and the labour to remove it was great; for the holes were very small,—scarcely capable of containing the body of a man crawling like a chameleon. These unfortunate wretches received their supply of provisions from the Nile; but occasionally it did not arrive in due time, and great famine of course prevailed among them. The nearest well was distant about half-a-day's journey; whence it is not surprising that, deprived of the necessaries of life, and feeling that they were doomed to be sacrificed in the desert, they should have repeatedly risen against their leaders and put them to death.*

The great wilderness of Eastern Egypt is occupied various tribes of Arabs, who consider its different sec-

* Belzoni, vol. ii. p. 40.

tions as their patrimonial inheritance. The Ababdeh CHAP. IX.
rule over that portion of it which stretches from the The Ababdeh.
latitude of Cosseir to a distant part of Nubia ; the Beni
Wassel join them on the north ; and these again are The Beni and
succeeded by the Mahazeh, who claim an authority as
far as the parallel of Beni Souef. The desert, which
comprehends the Isthmus of Suez, is in the possession of
a fourth family, who are known by the designation of The Hoo-at-
Hoo-at-al, and sometimes by that of Atoonis or Antonis,
derived, it is probable, from the name of the saint whose
convent gives celebrity to the neighbourhood.

It has been observed that this steril region exhibits Form of the
the form of a triangle, the apex of which is placed at region.
Suez, while the two sides rest upon the Red Sea and the
Nile. In the parallel of Cairo the river is scarcely
three days' journey from the sea ; at Keft the distance
is considerably increased ; farther south it becomes nine
days' journey ; while at Syéné it is computed to be
about seventeen. This district, which from its eastern Its different
situation is denominated Sharkin,—a word latinized into names.
Saracene,—is by the ancients frequently termed Arabia,
from the similarity both of the country and the inhabi-
tants. It has also been termed Asiatic Egypt. The
chain of mountainous ridges which confine the eastern
bank of the Nile is so steep and precipitous that it fre-
quently exhibits the aspect of an artificial fortification,
interrupted at intervals by deep and rugged ravines.
But, as if this natural defence had not been sufficient, Ancient wall.
the remains of a real wall, about twenty-four feet thick,
formed of huge stones, and running from north to south,
is asserted to have been discovered in this desert. This
the Arabs suppose to have been constructed by an an-
cient Egyptian king, and hence the name which it con-
tinues to bear,—*the Wall of the Old Man*. The greater
part of this arid desert affords no traces of animal or vege-
table life : “The birds,” says Dr Leyden, “shun its torrid
atmosphere, the serpent and the lizard abandon the sands,
and the red ant, which resembles in colour the soil on
which it lives, is almost the only creature that seems to
Barrenness
of the desert.

CHAP. IX. exist among the ruins of nature. But the monasteries of St Anthony and St Paul are still inhabited by Coptic monks, who, while they claim an absolute power over demons and wild beasts, are unable to protect themselves from the wandering Arabs,—more formidable than either to an unarmed ascetic.”*

Barren islands.

Myos Hormus.

Cosseir.

Towards Suez the shore is skirted by some small islands, which are as barren as the mainland. The principal of these are the Jaffatines, four in number, and arranged in the form of a semicircle. After passing Djibel el Zeil the harbour of Myos Hormus presents itself, anciently selected by Ptolemy Philadelphus in preference to Suez. For a considerable period this was the emporium of the Arabian trade, until, as we have already stated, in the time of the Romans, it was supplanted by Berenice. Cosseir, the Leucos Portus of the geographer Ptolemy, has long given place to a more modern town of the same name, which stands in lat. $26^{\circ} 7' N.$, and long. $34^{\circ} 4' E.$, and is said to be built among hillocks of moving sand. The houses are formed of clay, and the inhabitants, in their manners and features, have a greater resemblance to the Arabians of the opposite shore than to the native Egyptians. It now derives its chief importance from being one of the stations at which the pilgrims assemble on their route to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.†

* Murray's Historical Account of Travels in Africa, vol. ii. p. 182.

† Ibid. p. 185.

CHAPTER X.

Manners and Customs of the Egyptians.

Great Variety of Manners in Egypt—Funeral Ceremonies described by Diodorus—Judgment pronounced on the Dead—Civil Suits in Ancient Times—Account of Coptic Baptism—Levantines—Moslem Marriages; Description by Mr Browne—Interior of a Harem—Circassians—Ethiopian Women—Mode of Living among Turks; Among Europeans—Mosques—Mohammed Ali and Burckhardt—Language of Copts—Religion—Festival of Calige—Virgin offered to the Nile; A similar Custom in India—Female Mourners in Egypt—Dress of Ladies—Amusements of Cairo—Reptiles, Insects, Nuisances—Anecdote of Sir Sidney Smith—Reciters and Story-tellers—Opinion of Denon—Character of Egyptian Arabs—Houses—Mode of Life—Barbers—Doctors—Piety—Arabic Manuscripts—Serpent Eaters and Charmers—Magic—Dervishes—Mamlouk Notions of Respectability.

In a country, the inhabitants of which acknowledge so many different descents, the manners and customs must partake of an equal variety. The habits of the Turk, for example, can have little resemblance to those of the Copt, the Mamlouk, the Bedouin, or the Jew; for in points where hereditary attachments do not interfere the authority of religion continues to perpetuate a distinction. Our best guides to the knowledge of modern Egypt are Mr Browne, Dr Hume, and Mr Lane, who, besides being a considerable time resident in it, were well qualified by their knowledge of society to supply an intelligible account of what fell under their observation. In regard to the more ancient periods, it is obvious that we do not possess sufficient information of domestic life from which to furnish a narrative that might prove

CHAP. X.

Variety of
manners in
Egypt.Modern
writers.

CHAP. X.

Ancient
narratives.Funeral
rites.Judgment
of the dead.Public
accusers.

Acquittal.

Pictorial
representa-
tions.

agreeable to the general reader, who cannot be supposed to take much interest in the details of a superstitious worship, or in the opinions of a mystical philosophy. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a single extract from Diodorus Siculus relative to the funeral rites which were observed in the days of the Pharaonic dynasty. He tells us that a talent of silver—£450—was sometimes expended in performing the last offices to a distinguished individual.

The relatives of the deceased, says he, announce to the judges, and to all the connexions of the family, the time appointed for the ceremony, which includes the passage of the defunct over the lake or canal of the Nome to which he belonged. Two-and-forty judges are then collected, and arranged on a semicircular bench, which is situated on the bank of the canal ; the boat is prepared, and the pilot, who is called by the Egyptians *Charon*, is ready to perform his office ; whence it is said that Orpheus borrowed the mythological character of this personage. But before the coffin is put into the boat, the law permits any one who chooses to bring forward accusations against the dead person ; and if it is proved that his life was criminal the funeral honours are prohibited ; while, on the other hand, if the charges are not substantiated, the accuser is subjected to a severe punishment. If there are no insinuations against the deceased, or if they have been satisfactorily repelled, the relations cease to give any farther expression to their grief, and proceed to pronounce suitable encomiums on his good principles and humane actions ; asserting, that he is about to pass a happy eternity with the pious in the regions of Hades. The body is then deposited with becoming solemnity in the catacomb prepared for it.*

This narrative is confirmed by various pictorial representations still preserved, which exhibit the forty-two judges performing the duty here assigned to them, as well as by certain inscriptions which distinctly allude to

* Diodor. Sicul. Hist., lib. i. cap. 92.

the same remarkable custom. Hence is likewise established the opinion asserted by several of the Greek historians and philosophers, that the ancient Egyptians believed in a future state of reward and punishment. CHAP. X.

At present the ceremonies attendant upon death and burial are considerably different. When a pious Moslem feels that he is about to die, he performs, if he is able, the ordinary ablutions, as before prayer, that he may depart from life in a state of bodily purity. Nor is it uncommon for a true believer, when engaged in a military expedition, or during a long journey in the desert, to carry his grave-linen along with him. But in ordinary cases, when a man is at the point of death, an attendant turns him round so that he may give up the ghost with his eyes directed towards Mecca. As soon as life appears to be extinct, those around the couch exclaim, Allah ! There is no strength nor power but in God ! To God we belong, and to him we must return ! God have mercy on him ! At that moment the women of the family raise the cries of lamentation, uttering the most piercing shrieks, and calling upon the name of the deceased. At the
ment of
death.

If death takes place in the morning, the corpse is buried the same day ; but if it happens in the afternoon or at night, the funeral is postponed till the following one. In this case the wailing-women, or hired mourners, remain in the house, and continue their lamentations during the hours of darkness, in company with the other females who bestow the unbought tribute of their grief. Female
mourners

In the procession, the first place is occupied by six or eight poor men, most of whom are blind, who advance two and two together. Walking at a slow pace, they chant, in a melancholy tone, the usual articles of belief, asserting that there is no deity but God, and that Mohammed is his apostle. Next appear the male relations and friends of the deceased, accompanied by individuals of certain religious orders. Then follow some schoolboys, one of whom carries a copy of the koran, or a volume containing one of its thirty sections, placed upon a kind of desk formed Procession.
The Koran.

CHAP. X.

Chanting

Commands
of the pro-
phet.Ceremonies
in the
mosque.

The service.

Prayer.

Adjuration.

of palm-sticks, and generally covered over with an embroidered silk handkerchief. These boys chant in a high and lively voice some portions of a poem, descriptive of the events of the last judgment. The cries of the women, the shrill singing of the boys, and the deep tones uttered by the *Yemeneeyeh*, or blind attendants, compose a strange discord, wild, and yet impressive.

The wailing of women at funerals was forbidden by the Prophet, as was also the celebration of the virtues ascribed to the deceased. Mohammed declared that the good qualities thus attributed to a dead person would be a subject of reproach to him, if, in a future state, he was not found to possess them.

When the bier is brought into the mosque, it is laid on the floor in the usual place of prayer, with the right side towards the kiblah, or in the direction of Mecca. The imam stands before the left side of the bier, facing it and the kiblah, and a servant of the mosque at the feet, whose duty it is to repeat the words of the priest. The attendants of the funeral stand behind the imam, the women a little in the rear of the men; for on such an occasion females are seldom excluded from the holy house. The congregation being thus arranged, the service is begun, in which, after certain exclamations in honour of the Prophet, is pronounced the following prayer:—"O God, verily this is thy servant and son of thy servant; he hath departed from the repose of the world and from its business, and from whatever he loved, and from those by whom he was loved in it, to the darkness of the grave, and to what is prepared for him. He did testify that there is no Deity but Thee; that thou hast no companion; and that Mohammed is thy servant and thy apostle; and thou art all-knowing respecting him. O God, he hath gone to abide with Thee; and thou art the best with whom to abide. He is in need of thy mercy, and Thou art in no need of his punishment. We have come to Thee supplicating that we may be allowed to intercede for him. O God, if he was a doer of good, over-reckon his good deeds; and if

he was an evil-doer, pass over his evil-doings ; and of CHAP. X.
thy mercy grant him thy acceptance, and spare him the Torment of
trial of the grave and its torment ; make his grave wide
to him, and keep back the earth from his sides ; and of
thy mercy grant him security from thy torment, until
thou send him safely to thy paradise, O thou most mer-
ciful of those who show mercy.”*

Having uttered some exclamations similar to those with which he began, the imam proceeds, saying, “ O God, withhold not from us our reward for the service we have done him, and lead us not into trial after him ; pardon us and him, and all the Moslems, O Lord of all creatures !”—Thus he finishes his prayer, greeting the angels on his right hand and left, with the salutation, Greetings
“ Peace be on you, and the mercy of God,” as is done at the close of the ordinary prayers. Then addressing the persons present, he says, “ Give your testimony respecting him.” They reply, “ He was of the virtuous.” These rites being duly performed, the funeral-train proceeds with the corpse, in the same order as before, to the burial-ground.

The practice of hiring women to lament for the dead is still observed at Cairo, to the great annoyance of the Frank population, whose ears reject the monotonous accents in which this nightly dirge is performed. Upon inquiry it was found that the wealthier the family the more numerous were the hired mourners, and of course the louder the lamentation,—that these singers exhibited the most frightful distortions, having their hair dishevelled, their clothes torn, and their countenances disfigured with paint and dirt,—that they were relieved at intervals by other women similarly employed,—and that the ceremony might thus be continued to any length. A principal part of their art consists in mingling with Hired
mourners
at Cairo.
Distortions
of the
singers.

* It is believed that the body of a wicked man is painfully oppressed by the earth against its sides in the grave, though, to prevent this evil, the excavation is made large and left hollow. Lane, vol. ii. p. 299.

CHAP. X.

their howling such affecting expressions of praise or pity as may excite the tears of the relations who are collected around the corpse.*

Christening
of a Coptic
child.

Dr Hume relates, that when at Rosetta he and a friend were invited by a Coptic merchant to witness the christening of a child. On entering they were received by the lady of the house with great civility. She poured a little perfumed rose-water into their hands, from a bottle covered with silver filigree of very fine work ; and as they passed into the room they were sprinkled over with the same liquid. This was found to be a common custom in all Coptic and Levantine houses when a person makes a visit of ceremony. The apartment into which they were introduced was in the highest floor, where was a table covered with all kinds of sweetmeats and fruits. The mistress of the family and her sister, also a married lady, with her husband and other guests, soon made their appearance. The infant was completely swathed. The ceremony was performed by a Coptic priest, according to a service which he read from a manuscript ritual ; which, if we may trust to the description given by Pococke, consists in plunging the child three times into water ; after which it is confirmed, and receives the other sacrament,—that is, the minister dips his finger in consecrated wine, and puts it to the infant's mouth.†

Refresh-
ments.

Coptic ritual.

Levantines.

Having mentioned the Levantines, we may add, that the people who go by this name are the descendants of Franks born in Egypt and Syria, and that they are thereby distinguished from the natives of European

* Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 105. - It is evident, as Dr Clarke observes, that this custom, like the *caoineadh* of the Irish and the funeral-cry of other nations, are remains of ceremonies practised in honour of the dead in almost every country of the earth. They are the same that Homer describes at the death of Hector, and they are frequently alluded to in the Sacred Scriptures : “ Call for the mourning women, that they may come ; and send for cunning women, that they may come : and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters.”—*Jer. ix. 17, 18.*

† Walpole's Memoirs, p. 400. Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 246.

countries. The ladies of this class imitate the Arabs in dyeing their eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, with a dark colour, and dress in the costume of the higher order of their society.

The Moslem marriages are always regulated by the elder females, the bridegroom seldom seeing the bride till the day of their union. It is merely a civil contract between their mutual friends, and signed by the young man and his father. There is a procession consisting of many persons, male and female, who accompany the young lady to the house of her future husband, where she is received by her companions. As soon as the ceremony is performed the women raise a shout of congratulation, which is repeated at intervals during the entertainment that follows. After this burst of joy they make another procession through the streets, the females all veiled; and a person, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, carries a red handkerchief fixed to the end of a pole after the fashion of a military banner. They then return to the house, where they pass the remainder of the day and part of the night in feasting, looking at dancing-girls, and listening to singing-men.

Mr Browne, who witnessed the marriage of the daughter of Ibrahim Bey, describes it in the following terms:—“A splendid equipage was prepared in the European form, being a coach drawn by two horses, and ornamented with wreaths of artificial flowers, in which a beautiful slave from the harem, personating the bride (whose features were very plain), was carried through the principal streets of Cairo. The blinds of the coach were drawn up, and the fair deputy sat concealed. The procession was attended by some beys, several officers and Mamlouks, and ended at the house of the bridegroom, who received her from the carriage in his arms.” In general, the bride, who is completely veiled, walks under a canopy, supported by two women, to the house of the bridegroom. He adds that the ladies of the capital are not tall but well formed. The upper ranks are tolerably fair, in which, and in fatness, consist the chief praises

Moslem
marriages.

Procession.

Marriage of
Ibrahim
Bey's daughter.

Personation
of the bride.

Walking
processions.

CHAP. X.

Ideas of
beauty.Original in-
habitants of
Egypt.Hair and
eyes.Harem of
Hassan Bey.Ladies'
dresses.

of beauty in the Egyptian climate. They marry at fourteen or fifteen, and at twenty are past their prime. For what reason the natives of hot climates ordinarily prefer women of large person, he acknowledges that he was not able to discover. Nevertheless the Coptic ladies have interesting features, large black eyes, and a genteel figure.*

Speaking of the original inhabitants of Egypt, this author confirms the opinion given by recent travellers in opposition to that supported by Malte-Brun, and obviously borrowed from Volney. He admits that there is a peculiarity of feature common to all the Copts, but asserts that neither in countenance nor personal form is there any resemblance to the negro. Their hair and eyes are indeed of a dark hue, and the former is often curled, though not in a greater degree than is frequently seen among Europeans. The nose is generally aquiline, and though the lips be sometimes thick, they are by no means uniformly so; and, on the whole, a strong resemblance may be traced between the form of visage in the modern Copts and that presented in the ancient mummies, paintings, and statues.

Dr Hume was admitted into the harem of Hassan Bey, and saw three of its inmates. They were seated in a small room, on the sides of which was a divan or sofa covered with crimson satin,—a Turkey carpet being spread on the middle of the floor. The satin was fancifully embroidered with silver flowers. The ladies wore white turbans of muslin, and their faces were concealed with large white handkerchiefs thrown carelessly over them. When they go abroad they wear veils like the Arab women. Their trousers were of red and white striped satin, very wide, but drawn together at the ankle with a silk cord, and tied under their breasts with a girdle of scarlet and silver. Something like a white silk shirt with loose sleeves, and open at the breast, was next the skin. Over all was thrown a pelisse; one of them

* *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, p. 76.

wore light-blue satin, spangled with small silk leaves, while the two others were decked in pink satin and gold. CHAP. X.

"We were treated with coffee, and were fanned by the ladies themselves with large fans, a perfume being at the same time scattered through the room. This was composed of rose-water, a great quantity of which is made in Fayoum. They were reserved at first, but after conversing with the Mamlouk who attended me they were less careful to conceal their faces. Their beauty did not equal what I had anticipated from the fineness of their skins. They were inclined to corpulence; their faces were round and inexpressive; but the neck, bosom, arms, and hands were of great fairness and delicacy. My dress seemed to amuse them very much, and they examined every part of it, particularly my boots and spurs. When drinking coffee with the Turkish officers I chanced to forget my handkerchief; and as I seemed to express a desire to find it, one of the ladies took one from her head and presented it to me, having first perfumed it."*

After this visit, Dr Hume, expressing to a Mamlouk some curiosity with respect to the female establishment of Hassan Bey, was informed that the whole amounted to more than twenty, several of whom were Circassians; but he added that his master had in reality only one wife, who was not among the ladies to whom the stranger was introduced, and that all the others were simply her attendants. This arrangement is more general than is commonly believed, for even the Arabs usually content themselves with one wife; or, when they have two, the second is always subservient to the first married in the affairs of the house.

The Ethiopian women brought to Egypt for sale, though black, are exceedingly beautiful; their features being perfectly regular and their eyes full of fire. A great number of them had been purchased by the French during their stay in the country, who were anxious to

Reception in
the harum.

Degree of
beauty.

Establish-
ment of
Hassan Bey

His wife.

* Walpole's Memoirs, p. 393.

CHAP. X. dispose of them previously to their departure for Europe ; Slave market. and it was the custom to bring them to the common market-place in the camp, sometimes in boys' clothes, at other times in the gaudiest female dress of the Parisian fashion. The price was generally from sixty to a hundred dollars, while Arab women could be purchased as low as ten. The Circassians at all times are exposed to sale in particular markets or khans, and occasionally bring large sums of money to their owners. Their beauty, however, is not very highly prized by Europeans, who are at a loss to account for those lofty descriptions which fill the pages of oriental romance, and ascribe all the attractions of female form to the natives of one favoured portion of Asia.

Turkish furnishing. In the house of a Turk the apartments for the women are furnished with the finest and most expensive articles ; but those of the men are only remarkable for a plain style of neatness. They breakfast before sunrise, make their second meal at ten, and their third at five in the afternoon ; using at all times an abundance of animal food. A large dish of pilau appears in the middle of the table, surrounded with small dishes of meat, fish, and fowl. Their drink is confined to water, but coffee is served immediately after the meal.

Food.

Wines and liquors.

Araki.

At the tables of the great sherbet is introduced ; for, as the manufacture of wine is not encouraged in Egypt, the quantity that is used by the Greeks and Franks must be procured from abroad. The natives still prepare a fermented liquor of maize, millet, barley, or rice, but it has very little resemblance to our ale. It is sufficiently pleasant to the taste, and of a clear light colour ; though, being very weak and pregnant with saccharine matter, it does not keep fresh above a day. The Christians distil for themselves a liquor known by the general name of araki. It is made of dates, currants, or the small grapes which are imported from the Seven Islands. But the example of Mohammed Ali, who does not scruple to drink wine, has introduced some degree of laxity into the manners of the metropolis, where there are many who hold the

opinion that the great wisdom of their pasha is entitled to equal respect with the injunctions of their Prophet. CHAP. X.

The style of living among Europeans is considerably different from the native mode, but not uniform ; every consulate setting an example to the people under its protection, and varying according to the seasons of the year. “One cannot find the comforts of an English breakfast at Cairo ; a cup of coffee and a piece of bread are ready at an early hour for whoever chooses ; at mid-day comes a luxurious dinner of foreign cookery, with the wines of Europe and fruits of the East ; and seven in the evening introduces supper,—another substantial meal, though rather less profuse than the dinner ; and by ten o’clock most of the family retire. This is not the way of living best adapted to the climate, which seems to require only a slight refreshment during the sultry hours, and the solid meal to be reserved till the cool of the day. A singular luxury in this city, as well as in every other in the East, is the caimac, or clouted cream, exactly the same as that made in Devonshire and Cornwall, and manufactured in the same manner. It is cried about the streets fresh every morning, and is sold on small plates ; and, in a place where butter is never seen, it is a rich and welcome substitute.”* It may be remarked in passing, that except for the purposes of cookery, fire is never used in the houses of Cairo, it being found more convenient to compensate the diminished temperature of the cold season by an addition to their clothing than by grates or stoves.

There are, in the same capital, more than three hundred mosques, four or five of which are very splendid, more especially the one which bears the name of Jama el Azhar, which is ornamented with pillars of marble and Persian carpets. A sheik, being at the same time an ecclesiastic of a high order, presides over the establishment, to which an immense property was formerly attached, and which still supports a number of persons

Requisites of
the climate.

Caimac.

Domestic
fires.

Mosques.

* Carne’s Letters from the East, vol. i. p. 96.

CHAP. IX.

Arab
scholars.

who have the reputation of being distinguished for profound skill in theology and accurate knowledge of the Arabic language. It is furnished also with an extensive collection of manuscripts ; and lectures are read on all subjects which among Moslem ecclesiastics continue to be regarded as scientific, though entirely unconnected with the improvements of modern times.

The metropolis of Egypt, indeed, still maintains the reputation, by which it has been distinguished for many centuries, of being the best school of Arabic literature and of Mohammedan theology and jurisprudence. Polite knowledge, it is said, has declined among the Arabs at large, but least of all in Cairo. The fame of the professors in this city remains yet unrivalled ; and its great mosque continues to attract numerous students from every part of the Moslem world.

Dialects of Arabic.

The Arabic spoken by the middle and higher classes in the capital is generally inferior, in point of grammatical correctness and pronunciation, to the dialects of the Arabian Bedouins ; but it is much superior to that of Syria and of the western tribes. There is not so much difference between the *literary* and *popular* forms of the language as some European orientalists have supposed. The latter may be described as the literary style simplified, principally by the omission of the final vowels and other terminations which distinguish the several cases of nouns and some of the persons of verbs. Nor is there so great a variety in the Arabic spoken in the several countries as certain persons, who have not held intercourse with the inhabitants, are disposed to imagine : in point of fact, the dialects resemble each other more than those of some counties in England, less distantly removed from the centre of civilisation.

Literary and popular styles.

Arab literature.

The literature of the Arabs, says Mr Lane, is very comprehensive ; but the number of their books is more remarkable than the variety. Those which treat of religion and jurisprudence may be stated at about one-fourth ; next are works in grammar, rhetoric, and various branches of philology ; the third in the scale of

proportion are those in history and geography ; and the fourth class is devoted to poetical compositions. Treatises on medicine, chemistry, mathematics, algebra, and the sciences at large, are comparatively few.

There are in Cairo many large libraries, most of which are attached to mosques, and consist for the greater part of works on theology, jurisprudence, and the principles of literary composition. The leaves of the books are seldom sewed together, but are usually enclosed in a cover, having an outer case of pasteboard and leather. Five sheets or double leaves are commonly placed together, composing what is called a *karras*. The leaves are thus arranged in small parcels, without being sewed, in order that one book may be of use to a number of persons at the same time. The paper, which is thick and glazed, is in most cases the manufacture of Venice.

In Egypt, and particularly in its metropolis, such persons as intend to devote themselves to religious employments, or to any of the learned professions, usually pursue a course of study in the great mosque already mentioned ; having previously made no higher attainments than being able to read, perhaps to write, and to recite the Koran. The Azhar, which is regarded as the principal university of the East, is an extensive building, in the form of a quadrangle, and enclosing a spacious court. One side of the square, that namely towards Mecca, is used exclusively for devotional purposes ; on the three other sides are porticos divided into a number of apartments, where the young men are engaged in their studies. The subjects to which their attention is directed, and on which lectures are given by the professors, are grammatical inflection and syntax, rhetoric, versification, logic, theology, the exposition of the Koran, the traditions of the Prophet, the complete science of jurisprudence, including moral, civil, and criminal law, all these being founded on the Koran and the traditions. Lectures are also given on arithmetic, algebra, the calculations of the Mohammedan calendar, the times of prayer, and the order of the festivals.

Libraries at
Cairo.

Book or
karras.

Place of
study.

The Azhar.

Professors.

CHAP. X.

Books of different sects.

Diminution of endowments.

Depression of learning.

Former privileges of a sheik.

Distinctive dress.

Different books, as might be expected, are read by students of different sects ; but as to protection or patronage, they are all placed on the same footing, none of them paying for the instruction they receive. Such as are natives of Cairo have their board supplied by their relations ; while those who are strangers have a daily allowance of food, provided from certain funds bequeathed for their maintenance. The youths belonging to the capital used to have a similar allowance ; but this they no longer enjoy except during the month of Ramadan, for the pasha has taken possession of all the valuable land appertaining to the mosques. For the same reason the Azhar has lost the greater part of its property ; and now nothing but the expenses of necessary repairs and the salaries of its principal officers are advanced by the government. In a chapel adjacent to the eastern angle of that establishment, and considered, indeed, as one of its dependencies, there are about three hundred blind men, most of whom are students, and being poor, they are all supported on funds consecrated by the benevolence of pious persons for that purpose.

Learning was in a much more flourishing state in Cairo before the entrance of the French army than it has been in later years. It suffered severely from that invasion ; not, it is admitted, through direct oppression, but in consequence of the panic it occasioned, and the troubles by which it was followed. Before that period a sheik who had studied in the Azhar, if he had only two boys to educate, lived in luxury. His two pupils served him, cleaned his house, prepared his food, and though they partook of it with him, were his menial servants at all other times ; they followed whenever he went out ; carried his shoes on his entering a mosque ; and in every case treated him with the honour due to a prince. He was then distinguished by an ample dress and a large formal turban ; and as he passed along the street, whether on foot or mounted on an ass, passengers pressed towards him to implore his benediction. If he met a Frank riding, the latter was obliged to dis-

mount ; if he went to a butcher to procure meat, the dealer refused to make any charge, but kissed his hand and received as an honour and a blessing whatever he chose to give. At present, the condition of a man of this profession is so fallen, that it is with difficulty he can obtain a scanty subsistence, unless his talents be of the highest order.

CHAP. X.

Honours and
privileges.

It must have been observed that great attention Study of law. is paid by the Mohammedan doctors to the study of law, both ritual and civil. With regard to the administration of the latter branch in ancient times, it may be observed, on the authority of Diodorus Siculus, that the number of judges amounted to thirty ; and it is worthy of special notice, as bearing some affinity to a usage well known in a neighbouring nation, that their president wore a breastplate adorned with jewels, which was called Truth. The eight books of the laws were spread open Books of the law. in court ; and the pleadings of the advocates were exclusively conducted in writing, in order that the feelings of the judges might not be improperly biassed by the too energetic eloquence of an impassioned orator. The president delivered the sentence of his colleagues by touching the successful party with the mysterious symbol of truth and justice which adorned his person.*

The character of the viceroy, who labours under the imputation of being a freethinker, has not failed to produce a certain effect on the sentiments of the higher class of persons in Cairo. It is said of him that he values no man's religious opinions a single straw ; as long as they serve him well, they may be Guebres, or worshippers of the Grand Lama. The celebrated traveller, Burckhardt, with whom he was very fond of conversing, presented himself one day before him. "Pasha," said he, " I want to go and see the Holy City, and pray at the Prophet's tomb ; give me your leave and firman for the journey."—" You go to Mecca and our blessed

Influence of
the viceroy.Burckhardt's
interview
with him.

* Philosoph. Trans., 1819. Supplement to Ency. Brit., vol. iv.
p. 52.

CHAP. X.
Objections of
the viceroy.

Prophet's tomb!" said the prince ; " that's impossible, Ibrahim ! you are not qualified ; you know what I mean ; nor do I think you are a true believer."—" But I am, pasha," was the reply : " you are mistaken, I assure you ; I am qualified, too, in every respect ; and as to belief have no fears about that ; tell me any part of the Koran that I will not believe."—" Go to the Holy City ; go, Ibrahim," said the pasha, laughing heartily ; " I was not aware you were so holy a man. Do you think I'll vex myself with questions from the Koran ? Go and see the Prophet's tomb, and may it enlighten your eyes and comfort your heart."*

Extinction of
the Coptic
language.

It is maintained both by Mr Browne and Dr Hume that the Coptic language is entirely extinct, and no longer used in any part of Egypt. The former relates that in the Christian monasteries the prayers are read in Arabic, and the epistle and gospel in Coptic ; observing, however, with regard to this last, that the priest is a mere parrot repeating a dead letter. Manuscripts in that language are nevertheless still found in some of the convents, leave to copy which might easily be obtained from the patriarch ; and by these means a valuable addition would be made to the collections of M. Quatremère, to whom the scholars of Europe have been so much indebted.†

Coptic creed
and cere-
monies.

We have already stated that the Coptic creed is heretical touching the point on which Eutychius was accused of an erring faith. The moderns, notwithstanding, have adopted transubstantiation, thereby approximating more closely to the Roman belief than their orthodox neighbours of the Greek communion. They have at the same time received from the Mohammedans the custom of frequent prostrations during divine service ; of individual prayer in public ; and various other ceremonies suggested by the peculiarity of their climate.

* Carne's Recollections of Travels in the East, p. 248.

† Maillet remarked, " Aujourd'hui la langue Copte n'y est plus entendue par les Coptes mêmes : le dernier qui l'entendait est mort en ce siècle." P. 24.

Festival of
opening the
Calige.

The festival of opening the Calige, or cutting the bank of the Nile, is still annually observed at Cairo, and is one of the few ancient customs which continue to identify the inhabitants of the modern capital with their remotest ancestors. The year in which Mr Carne visited Egypt, the 16th of August was the day appointed for this solemnity, the inundation having reached nearly its greatest height. Accompanied by some friends he repaired about eight in the evening to the place, which was a few miles distant from the city, amidst the roaring of cannon, illuminations, and fireworks. The shores of the Nile, a long way down from Boulak, were covered with groups of people,—some seated beneath the large spreading sycamores smoking, others gathered around parties of Arabs, who were dancing with infinite gayety and pleasure, and uttering loud exclamations of joy,—affording an amusing contrast to the passionless demeanour and tranquil features of their Moslem oppressors. Perpetually moving over the scene, which was illuminated by the most brilliant moonlight, were seen Albanian soldiers in their national costume, Nubians from the burning clime of farther Egypt, with Mamlouks, Arabs, and Turks.

At last day broke, and, soon after, the report of a cannon announced that the event so ardently wished for was at hand. In a short time the kiaya bey, the chief minister of the pasha, arrived with his guard and took his seat on the summit of the opposite bank. A number of Arabs now began to dig down the dike which confined the Nile, the bosom of which was covered with a number of pleasure-boats full of people, waiting to sail along the canal through the city. Before the mound was completely demolished, the increasing dampness and shaking of the earth induced the workmen to leave off. Several of them then plunged into the stream, and exerting all their strength to push down the remaining part, small openings were soon made, and the river broke through with irresistible violence, resembling for some time the rushing of a cataract.

According to custom, the kiaya bey distributed ■ sum

Popular
sympathy.

Removal of
the dike.

CHAP. X.

Largess of the
bey.Eagerness of
the people.

Galla vessels.

Entrance into
Cairo.Need of it in
the capital.

of money,—throwing it into the bed of the canal below, where a great many men and boys scrambled for it. It was an amusing scene, as the water gathered fast round them, to see them struggling and groping amidst the waves for the coin ; but the violence of the torrent soon bore them away. There were some indeed who had lingered to the last, and now sought to save themselves by swimming,—still buffeting the waves, and grasping at the money showered down, and diving after it as it disappeared. Unfortunately this sport costs a few lives every year, and there was one young man drowned on the occasion just described.

The different vessels, long ere the fall had subsided, rushed into the canal, and entered the city, their decks crowded with all ranks, uttering loud exclamations of joy. The overflowing of the Nile is the richest blessing of Heaven to the Egyptians ; and, as it finds its way gradually into various parts of Cairo, the inhabitants flock to drink of it, to wash in it, and to rejoice in its progress. The vast square called the Birket, which a few hours before presented the appearance of a dusty neglected field, was now turned into a beautiful scene, being covered with an expanse of water, out of the bosom of which arose the finest sycamore trees. The sounds of joy and festivity, of music and songs, were now heard all over the city, with cries of “ Allah, Allah !” and thanks to the Divine bounty for so inestimable a benefaction.*

It is admitted on all hands that, long before its arrival, the capital stands greatly in need of this ablution. Dr Clarke, at whose presence all the plagues of Egypt were revived in more than their original horrors, consents to acknowledge, that when the canal was filled with its muddy water, the prodigious number of gardens gave to the capital so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in those gardens were so new to the eye of a European, that for a moment he forgot the innumerable

* Carne's Letters, vol. i. p. 99.

abominations of the dirtiest city in the whole earth. But he adds, that the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are received, particularly the famous Esbequier Birket, would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilized world.*

CHAP. X.
Description
of Dr. Clarke.

A tradition prevails, that in ancient times a virgin was annually sacrificed to the Nile, in order to propitiate the deity who presided over its waters, and who it was imagined, with the view of obtaining the wonted victim, occasionally postponed or diminished the periodical flood. The only memorial now existing of this obsolete practice appears in the form of a pile or statue of mud, called Anis or the Bride, which is raised every year between the dike of the canal and the river, and is afterwards carried away by the current when the embankment is broken down. Moreri, Murtadi, and other writers, allude to the same custom, and assign the motive already suggested for its introduction among the Egyptian idolaters. "They imagined," says the former, "that their god Serapis was the author of the marvellous inundation of the Nile; and accordingly, when it was delayed, they sacrificed to him a young girl. This barbarous devotion was abolished, if we may believe the Arabian historians, by the Caliph Omar."†

Anis or the
Bride.

It has become usual to resolve this statement into a mythological legend or astronomical emblem; but the prevalence of a similar custom in other parts of the world, and more especially in India, compels us to adhere to the literal import of the narrative, however abhorrent it may be to all the sentiments of modern times. For example, Bishop Heber relates that the images of a man and a woman, used in a Hindoo festival, were thrown into the Ganges; and he describes it "as the relic of a hideous custom which still prevails in Assam, and was anciently practised in Egypt, of flinging a youth and maiden, richly dressed, annually into their sacre

Probable
truth of the
tradition.

Hindoo
customs.

* Travels, vol. v. p. 108.

† Diction., vol. vii. p. 1041.

CHAP. X.

Relation of
Ovid.

river. That such a custom formerly existed in India is, I believe, a matter of pretty uniform tradition.”*

Some indistinct recollection of a similar fact appears to have reached the time of Ovid, who relates that, after nine years' drought, it was suggested that this grievous calamity might be averted by the sacrifice of a human being, a stranger in the land,—a corrupted allusion, perhaps, to the events which happened in the days of the patriarch Joseph.

“ Dicitur Ægyptios caruisse juvantibus arva
Imbris, atque annos sicca fuisse novem.
Cum Thraseas Busirim adiit, monstratque piari
Hospitis effuso sanguine posse Jovem.”

Public
appearance
of females.

The females of Cairo are often seen in the public streets riding upon asses and mules; they sit in the masculine attitude, like the women of Naples and other parts of Italy. Their dress consists of a hood and cloak extending to the feet, with a strip of white calico in front, concealing the face and breast, but having two small holes for the eyes. In this disguise, if a man were to meet his own wife or sister, he would not be able to recognise her unless she spoke to him; and this is seldom done, because the suspicious Moslems, observing such an intercourse, might suppose an intrigue to be going on, in which case they would put one if not both of them to death. Sir F. Henniker compares a lady mounted in the way just described, and wrapped up in a black mantle from head to foot, to a coffin placed perpendicularly on a horse, and covered with a pall.

Complete
disguisePublic feats
and shows.

The inhabitants of Cairo, fond of shows like the populace of all great cities, amuse themselves chiefly with feats of bodily exercise, such as leaping, rope-dancing, and wrestling-matches; also singing and dancing. They have buffoons, whose rude pleasantries and stale jests excite the ready laugh among an ignorant and corrupt people. The almehs, or female improvisatores, who amuse the rich with the exercise of their talent, differ

* Journal, vol. ii. p. 391.

The impro-
visatores.

Female
cultivation,

Dances.

from such as exhibit to the multitude. They come to relieve the solitude of the harem, where they teach the women new tunes, and repeat poems which excite interest from the representations which they give of national manners. They initiate the Egyptian ladies in the mysteries of their art, and teach them to practise dances of rather an unbecoming character. Some of these females have cultivated minds and an agreeable conversation, speaking their native language with purity. Their poetical habits make them familiar with the softest and best-sounding expressions, and their recitations are performed with considerable grace. They are called in on all festive occasions. During meals they are seated in a sort of desk, where they sing. Then they come into the drawing-room to exhibit their dances, or pantomimic evolutions, of which love is generally the ground-work. They now lay aside the veil, and with it the modesty of their sex.*

* Malte-Brun, iv. p. 72. Mr Lane (vol. ii. p. 62) informs his readers that the word "almeh" denotes a learned female, and that some of these ladies possess literary accomplishments of so high an order as to be justly entitled to the appellation. There is a distinction between them and the common dancing-girls so much celebrated in the volumes of European travellers, though the same term is, in such works, indiscriminately applied to both. The Egyptians are exceedingly fond of music; and yet they regard the study of this fascinating art as unworthy to employ any portion of the time of a man of sense. They farther object to it as having too powerful an effect on the passions, and as calculated to lead men into gayety, dissipation, and vice; the reason, it is said, why it was condemned by the Prophet. But it is, nevertheless, used in religious ceremonies; and the practice of chanting the Koran is continued in the schools, and contributes not a little to increase among the youth their national fondness for sweet sounds.

But the Egyptians are not destitute of diversions much more intellectual than those now mentioned. There is a class of men who, in their character and offices, bear some resemblance to the ancient bards of the western nations, who entertain the people by reciting romances. These performers usually frequent the coffee-shops of Cairo, on holidays and the evenings of religious festivals, though they are also occasionally engaged by private families to amuse their guests when assembled to celebrate some joyful event in the domestic circle.

One order of these rehearsers are distinguished by the term which in their language signifies a poet. But it does not appear

CHAP. X.

Dancing
women.

We shall take no farther notice of the disgraceful scenes which too often accompany the exhibitions of the

that they ever aspire to the fame of original composition, or profess to recite their own verses. On the contrary they restrict themselves to a single romance, entitled the 'Life of Aboo Zeyd,' whose adventures are so interesting in the ears of an Arab as never to create the slightest feeling of weariness or indifference. It is half prose, half verse ; half narrative, half dramatic. As a literary work, it is described as possessing little merit, but, as illustrative of the manners and customs of the Bedouins, it is not without considerable value. The heroes and heroines, who for the most part are natives of central Arabia and the Yemen, generally pour forth their highest sentiments, their addresses, and soliloquies in poetry. The verse is not measured ; though it is the opinion of some of the learned in Cairo that it was originally constructed on regular principles, and was invested with the poetical form. Almost every section and ode begins with an address to the Prophet, or with the invocation of blessings on his memory.

The romance of Aboo Zeyd is understood to be founded upon events which happened in the middle of the third century of the Hegira, and is believed to have been written not long after that period. It is now usually found in ten or twelve small quarto volumes, containing many additions to the original narrative, and also deformed by numerous changes suited to the varying taste of successive ages. The reciter commits the whole to memory, and repeats without book. The poetical pieces are chanted, and after every verse he plays a few notes on a viol which has a single chord, and is only used on such occasions.

Besides the description of performers now mentioned, there is another who pass under the name of story-tellers properly so called. The exclusive subject of their narrations is the "Life of Ez-Zahir," being a romantic tale founded on the history of the famous Sultan Ez-Zahi Bebours, who ascended the throne of Egypt in the 658th year of the Mohammedan faith. Complete copies of this composition have become so scarce that Mr Lane could not hear of more than one which he himself purchased. It consists of six quarto volumes, but is nominally divided into ten, and is made up of volumes of several different copies. The author and his age are equally unknown ; though it is not concealed that the work is written in the most vulgar style of modern Egyptian Arabic. From the specimen submitted to the English reader it is manifest that the stories are cast in the same mould which supplied the celebrated Arabian Nights. There is the same exaggeration of character and sentiments, accompanied with a similar gorgeousness of description, and an utter contempt of all probability in the arrangement of the incidents. Hence it may be predicted that a little acquaintance with European literature will bring to an end the dynasty of the romancers, and substitute a more refined species of fiction as the pastime of the idle and the imaginative in Egypt.*

* Lane, vol. ii. pp. 114-120.

dancing-women, nor shall we remove the curtain which conceals from the common eye the other sensualities of the Egyptian capital. It would be almost equally disagreeable to copy the descriptions given by several British travellers of the sufferings inflicted upon the senses and imagination of a European by the reptiles, flies, fleas, and other more nauseous vermin. Dr Clarke informs us that a singular species of lizard made its appearance in every chamber, having circular membranes at the extremity of its feet, which gave it such tenacity that it walked upon panes of glass, or upon the surfaces of pendent mirrors. This revolting sight was common in every apartment, whether in the houses of the rich or of the poor. At the same time such a plague of flies covered all things with their swarms, that it was impossible to eat without having persons to stand by every table with feathers or flappers, to drive them away. Liquors could not be poured into a glass; the mode of drinking was, to keep the mouth of every bottle closed till the moment it was applied to the lips, and instantly to cover it with the palm of the hand when removing it to any one else.

The utmost attention to cleanliness, by a frequent change of every article of wearing-apparel, could not prevent the attacks of vermin, which seemed to infest even the air of the place. A gentleman made his appearance, to receive a company whom he had invited to dinner, with lice swarming upon his clothes; and the only explanation he could give as to the cause was, that he had sat for a short time in one of the boats upon the canal. Nay, it is ascertained that certain winds cover even the sands of the wilderness with this abominable insect. Sir Sidney Smith on one occasion, apprehending the effects of sleeping a night in the village of Etko, preferred a bed on the bare surface of the adjoining desert; but, so far from escaping the evil he had dreaded, he found himself in the morning entirely covered with that mysterious plague over which the magicians of Pharaoh had no power. With regard to frogs, of which

Plague of flies, reptiles, &c.

Lizards.

Swarms of flies.

Abounding in the wilderness.

CHAP. X.

Frogs.

Favourable descriptions of the French.

Eastern languor.

Its universal influence.

the Nile at one period of its annual increase seems to be almost exclusively composed ; the “ boils breaking out with blains ;” and other peculiarities which continue to afflict the Land of Ham, we must restrict ourselves to a simple reference to such writers as Drs Clarke, Shaw, and Pococke, who groan over this long catalogue of human sufferings ; or to Sir F. Henniker, and other facetious tourists, who convert these short afflictions into a subject of merriment.*

The French were less difficult to please, and much more open to favourable impressions. Denon, for example, speaks of the pleasurable sensations daily excited by the delicious temperature of Cairo, causing Europeans, who arrive with the intention of spending a few months in the place, to remain during the rest of their lives without ever persuading themselves to leave it. Few persons, however, with whom our countrymen associate, are disposed to acquiesce in this opinion. Those indeed who are desirous of uninterrupted repose, or who are able to endure the invariable languor which prevails in every society to which strangers are admitted, may perhaps tolerate without murmuring a short residence in the midst of what Clarke calls a “ dull and dirty city.” The effect, it is admitted, whether it be of climate, of education, or of government, is the same upon all the settlers in Egypt except the Arabs,—a disposition to exist without exertion of any kind,—to pass whole days upon beds and cushions,—smoking and counting beads. This is what Maillet termed the true Egyptian taste ;† and that it may be acquired by residing among the natives is evident, from the appearance exhibited by Europeans who have passed some years in their capital.

* “ The dust of the earth became lice upon man and upon beast throughout all the land of Egypt.” This application of the words of Sacred Scripture, says Dr Clarke, “ affords a literal statement of existing evils ; such a one as the statistics of the country do now warrant.”

† *La vraie génie égyptienne.*

The lower order of Arabs are described as a quiet in- CHAP. X.
offensive people, with many good qualities ; and they Good qualities of
are on the whole much more active in agricultural em-
ployments than we should be led to imagine from the
habits of the better class of them in towns, who pass
their time in listless indolence. Their dress consists
simply of a pair of loose drawers, blue or white, with a Dress.
long blue tunic, which serves to cover them from the
neck to the ankle, and a small red woollen skullcap,
round which they occasionally wind a long white strip
of the same material. The articles of furniture in their Furniture.
houses are extremely few. "The rooms of all people
of decent rank," says a discerning traveller, "have a
low sofa, called a divan, extending completely round
three sides, and sometimes to every part of them except
the doorway ; but it is most commonly confined to the
upper end of the chamber. On this divan the hours The divan.
not devoted to exercise or business are invariably passed.
It is about nine inches from the floor, and covered with
mattresses ; the back is formed by large cushions placed
all along the wall, so close as to touch each other, and
more or less ornamented according to the wealth or taste
of the owner. The beds are generally laid on wicker- Beds.
work strongly framed, made of the branches of the date-
tree, or consist of mattresses placed on a platform at the
end of the room. For their meals they have a very low
table, round which they squat on the mats covering the Table.
floor ; and in houses of repute I have sometimes seen
this table made of copper thinly tinned over. The mats
used in Egypt are made of straw, or of the flags attached
to the branches of the date-tree, and are very neatly
worked in figures, such as squares, ovals, and other
forms, with fanciful borders. They are very durable, but
harbour numbers of fleas, with which all the houses
swarm, particularly in hot weather."*

The poorer sort of these Arabs seldom can afford to Food.
eat animal food, but subsist chiefly on rice made into a

* Walpole's Memoirs, p. 386.

CHAP. X. pilau, and moistened with the rancid butter of the country. Sometimes they make a hearty meal on boiled horse-beans steeped in oil. The date supplies them with sustenance a part of the year ; and, in summer, the vast quantities of gourds and melons which are then produced, place within their reach an agreeable variety. Their drink is the milk of buffaloes, or the water of the Nile purified and preserved in cisterns. None but the higher orders or those of dissolute lives ever taste wine ; and hence, although grapes grow abundantly in several parts of Egypt, only a very small portion is manufactured into that exhilarating beverage which is forbidden to every true believer in the Prophet.

Beans, dates,
&c.

Drink.

Distinguishing Arab traits.

Swimmers.

Barbers.

Surgical skill.

Some particular traits distinguish the Egyptian Arabs from other orientals. A country frequently laid under water makes the art of swimming a valuable acquisition. The children learn it at play ; even the girls become fond of it, and are seen swimming in flocks from village to village with all the dexterity of the fabled nymphs. At the festival of the opening of the canals, several professional swimmers perform a mock-fight in the water, and land to attack an enemy in presence of the pasha. Their evolutions are executed with surprising vigour. They sometimes float down the river on their backs, with a cup of coffee in one hand and a pipe in the other, while the feet are tied together with a rope.*

In many parts the barbers are still the only practitioners in physic ; and in a country where every man's head is shaved, the professors of the healing art cannot fail to be numerous. Their knowledge is of course extremely confined. They perform a few surgical operations, and are acquainted with the virtues of mercury and some standard medicines. The general remedy in cases of fever and other kinds of illness, is a saphie supplied by a priest, which consists of some sentence from the Koran written on a small piece of paper, and tied round the patient's neck. This, if the sick man recovers,

* Malte-Brun, vol. iv. p. 108.

he carefully preserves by keeping it constantly between his skullcaps, of which he generally wears two or three. Saphies are very commonly used by the Mohammedans, being thought to possess much efficacy for the body as well as for the soul, and occupy the same place in the estimation of the superstitious as did the frontlets and phylacteries of the more rigid among the ancient pharisees. In every bazaar, however, some shops are found in which are sold some of the more common drugs, such as opium, rhubarb, and senna.*

CHAP. X.
Saphies.

The Arabs are punctual in the performance of their religious duties at the stated hours appointed by their Prophet. They are often seen, after a hard day's work, kneeling with great devotion, offering up their prayers with their foreheads at times touching the ground. The respect in which idiots are held by the Mohammedans is well known; it being imagined that such unfortunate persons are possessed by a benign spirit, and under the special protection of Heaven. It is to be regretted that these notions of sanctity sometimes lead to customs not to be reconciled to European ideas of decorum; the use of clothes being thought inconsistent with the purity of mind and the holy functions which the superstition of an ignorant people has attributed to the natural fool.

Respect for
idiots.

Until the present viceroy introduced the European printing-press, a printed book was a rare sight in Egypt either press. among Turks or Arabs. A class of men, similar to the copyists and caligraphers of the Middle Ages, earned a livelihood by forming manuscripts of the Koran and other works in high reputation, some of which were beautifully executed in inks of various colours. The MSS. notes were generally done in red or light blue. Dr Clarke, who made considerable purchases, informs us that writings of celebrity bear very great prices, especially treatises on history, geography, and astronomy. The Mamlouks are fonder of reading than the Turks; and some of their libraries are enriched with volumes

* Dr Hume in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 389.

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Transcript of
the Arabian
Nights.

valued at immense sums. This traveller procured a transcript of the "Arabian Nights," which was brought to him in four quarto cases, containing one hundred and seventy-two tales, separated into one thousand and one portions for recital during the same number of nights. This valuable acquisition was unfortunately lost,—an event which is the more to be regretted, that many of the tales related to Syrian and Egyptian customs and traditions, which have not been found in any other copy of the same work.*

Taming and
eating
serpents.

A custom still prevails in Egypt, which may be traced to the remotest times, for it is alluded to by Herodotus, and distinctly mentioned by Pliny,—the practice of taming serpents, of sporting with the bites of the most poisonous vipers, and even of eating these animals alive. "A tumultuous throng," says the author just quoted, "passing beneath the windows of our house, attracted our attention towards the quay; here we saw a concourse of people following men apparently frantic, who with every appearance of convulsive agony were brandishing live serpents, and then tearing them with their teeth; snatching them from each other's mouths with loud cries and distorted features, and afterwards falling into the arms of the spectators as if swooning; the women all the while rending the air with their lamentations."

Assigned
origin of this
power.

This singular power over so dangerous an animal is claimed only by one tribe, who, on account of some signal act of piety performed by their ancestors, are understood to be protected by the Prophet from any injury that might otherwise befall them. These persons, however, do not always escape; for the author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus asks, Who will pity a charmer that is bitten by a serpent? Forskal says, that the leaves of the *aristolochia sempervirens* were used during forty days by those who wished to be rendered invulnerable; and we observe in the examination which an Abyssinian ecclesiastic underwent, at the instance of some British

* Travels, vol. v. p. 111.

travellers who wanted to ascertain the accuracy of Bruce, it is stated that the plant must be used at the moment the charm is performed.

At Pella, too, if we may believe Lucian, the serpents were rendered so tame and familiar that they were fed by the women, and slept with the children. Dr Hume relates, that when he lived at Alexandria a nest of snakes was discovered in his house. Following the advice of his interpreter he sent for one of the gifted family, who was an old man, and by trade a carpenter. He prayed fervently at the door a quarter of an hour, and at length, pale and trembling, ventured into the room ; but in the mean time an English sailor, who was employed as a servant, had cleared away the rubbish in which they were concealed, and killed them with a shovel.

Tame serpents.

Nest of snakes.

"I have met," says Mr Lane, "many persons among the more intelligent of the Egyptians, who condemn these modern psylli as impostors, but none who has been able to offer a satisfactory explanation of the most common and most interesting of their performances." A certain order of dervishes obtain a livelihood by charming away serpents from houses. The performer professes to discover, without ocular perception, whether there be any of these reptiles in a dwelling, and to draw them to him. As the serpent seeks the darkest corner in which to hide itself, the charmer has in most cases to exercise his skill in an obscure room, where he might easily take one from his bosom, bring it to the people without the door, and affirm that he had found it within the apartment. But we are assured that he is often required to perform in the full light of day, surrounded by inquisitive spectators ; that his person is sometimes examined and even stripped naked beforehand ; and yet his success has ever been complete.

Account of Mr. Lane.

Charming serpents.

Room for deception.

In proceeding to his incantation he generally assumes an air of mystery, strikes the wall with a short palm-stick, whistles, makes a clucking noise with his tongue, and spits upon the ground, saying, "I adjure you by God, if ye be above or if ye be below, that ye come forth :

Ceremony of Incantation.

CHAP. X.] I adjure you by the most great name, if ye be obedient, come forth, and if ye be disobedient, die ! die ! die !" Adjurations
of serpent
charmers. The serpent is generally dislodged by his stick from a fissure in the wall, or drops from the ceiling of the room. It is therefore believed that this class of dervishes do in reality possess some natural means of discovering the presence of serpents without seeing them, and of attracting them from their lurking-places.

Exploits of
the magi-
cians.

But there is nothing more remarkable among the modern Egyptians than the ingenuity displayed by their magicians. Mr Lane has recorded some exploits of this nature, that appear truly wonderful, and which, as they have not yet been fully explained to the Franks, continue to excite a good deal of speculation in these western parts of the world. "A few days after my arrival in this country," says the author just named, "my curiosity was excited on the subject of magic by a circumstance related to me by Mr Salt, our consul-general. Having had reason to believe that one of his servants was a thief, from the fact of several articles being stolen from his house, he sent for a celebrated Mughrebee magician, with the view of intimidating them, and causing the guilty one to confess his crime. The magician came ; and said that he would cause the exact image of the person who had committed the thefts to appear to any youth not arrived at the age of puberty ; and desired the master of the house to call in any boy whom he might choose. As several boys were then employed in a garden adjacent to the house, one of them was called for this purpose. In the palm of this boy's right hand the magician drew with a pen a certain diagram, in the centre of which he poured a little ink. In this ink he desired the boy steadfastly to look. He then burned some incense and several bits of paper inscribed with charms ; and at the same time called for various objects to appear in the ink. The boy declared that he saw all these objects, and last of all the image of the guilty person : he described his stature, countenance, and dress ; said that he knew him ; and directly ran into the gar-

Singular
detection of a
thief.

Magic
mirror.

Image of the
guilty person.

den and apprehended one of the labourers, who, when brought before his master, immediately confessed that he was the thief."

Stimulated by this account, Mr Lane, on his return to Egypt in 1833, resolved to witness a similar performance in his own person. The magician being invited to his residence appeared at the time appointed, about two hours before noon; but he seemed uneasy, frequently looked up to the sky through the window, and remarked that the weather was unpropitious. It was indeed dull and cloudy, and the wind was boisterous. The experiment was performed with three boys, one after another. With the first it was partly successful, but with the others it completely failed. The magician said he could do nothing more that day, but would come again on a future evening. He kept his appointment, and admitted that the time was favourable. When asked respecting the source of his magical power, he maintained that all his wonders were effected through the agency of good spirits; though he is said to have declared to others that he availed himself of satanic influence.

In preparing his magic mirror of ink he cut a narrow strip of paper, and wrote upon it certain forms of invocation together with another charm, by which he professed to accomplish the object of his experiment. He did not attempt to conceal these, and on being asked for copies, he readily gave them; explaining, at the same time, that he effected his object by means of the two first words, *Turshoon* and *Turyooshoon*, which were the names of his "familiar spirits."

Meantime were got ready by his direction some frankincense and coriander-seed, and a chafing-dish with some live charcoal in it. A boy was called in from the street who happened at the moment to be passing in the company of others from a manufactory, and was about eight or nine years of age. It appears that the only fit persons for such experiments are a boy not arrived at puberty, a virgin, a black female slave, and a pregnant woman. The chafing-dish was placed before the magi-

Investigations by
Mr. Lane.

Partial failure.

Magicmirr01.

Incense.

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Magical
proceedings.Forms of
invocation.Singular
visions.Flags
brought.Number of
colours.

cian and the child (the latter being seated), and some frankincense and coriander-seed were thrown into it. The magic figure was drawn in the palm of the boy's right hand, and the ink, as usual, poured into it. He was asked if he could see his face reflected in it : he replied that he saw his face clearly. The performer, holding the little fellow's hand all the while, told him to continue looking intently into the ink, and not to raise his head. He then took one of the little strips of paper, inscribed with the forms of invocation, and dropped it into the chafing-dish upon the burning coals and perfumes, which had already filled the room with their smoke ; and as he did this he commenced an indistinct muttering of words, which he continued during the whole process, except when he had to ask the boy a question, or to tell him what to say. The piece of paper containing the words from the Koran he placed inside the forepart of the boy's cap.

He then asked him if he saw any thing in the ink, and was answered "No ;" but about a minute after, the lad, trembling and seeming much frightened, said, "I see a man sweeping the ground."—"When he has done sweeping," said the magician, "tell me." Presently the boy said, "He has done." The other then interrupted his muttering to ask him if he knew what a *beyruck* or flag was ; and upon being answered in the affirmative, he desired him to say "Bring a flag." The boy obeyed, and soon remarked, "He has brought a flag."—"What colour is it ?" said the magician : "Red," was the answer. He was told to call for another flag ; which he did ; and soon after he mentioned that he saw another brought, and that it was black. In like manner he was told to call for a third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh ; which he described as being successively brought before him, specifying their colours as white, green, black, red, and blue. While this was going on the magician put the second and third of the small strips of paper, upon which the forms of invocation were written, into the chafing-dish ; and fresh frankincense and coriander-seed

having been repeatedly added, the fume became painful CHAP. X.
to the eyes.

When the boy had described the seven flags as appearing to him, he was desired to say, "Bring the sultan's tent, and pitch it." This he did, and in about a minute after he said, "Some men have brought the tent, a large green tent : they are pitching it ;" and presently he added, "they have set it up." He was then told to order that the soldiers should be drawn up in ranks ; and having done so, he presently said that he saw them all drawn up in line.

The magician had put the fourth of the little strips of paper into the chafing-dish, and soon after he did the same with the fifth. He now said, "Tell some of the people to bring a bull." The boy gave the order required, and said "I see a bull ; it is red ; four men are dragging it along, and three are beating it." He was told to desire them to kill it, and cut it up, and put the meat in saucepans, and cook it. He did as he was directed ; and described these operations as apparently performed before his eyes. "Tell the soldiers to eat." The boy did so, and said "They are eating it ; they have done ; and are washing their hands." The magician then told him to call for the sultan ; and the boy having done this, said, "I see the sultan riding to his tent on a bay horse ; and he has on his head a high red cap ; he has alighted at his tent, and sat down within it."—"Desire them to bring coffee to the sultan, and to form the court," was the next order ; and upon being repeated by the boy, he saw the whole instantly performed. The magician had put the last of the six little strips of paper into the chafing-dish. Mr Lane assures his readers that in the various mutterings he could distinguish nothing but the words of the written invocation, except that on one or two occasions he heard him say, "If they demand information, inform them, and be ye veracious."

The magician then asked our countryman himself, whether he wished that there should be presented to the eyes of the boy any person absent or dead. He named

The sultan's tent seen.

Killed and cooked.

The sultan.

Vision of the dead.

CHAP. X. Lord Nelson, of whom the child had never heard ; for it was with much difficulty that he pronounced the name after several trials. The magician desired him to say to the sultan, " My master salutes thee, and desires thee to bring Lord Nelson ; bring him before my eyes that I may see him speedily." The boy repeated the words, and almost immediately added, " a messenger is gone and has returned, and brought a man dressed in a black suit of European clothes ; the man has lost his left arm."* He then paused a moment or two, and looking more intently and more closely into the ink, said, " No, he has not lost his left arm, but it is placed to his breast." This correction, as Mr Lane justly observes, made his description more striking than it had been without it, since Lord Nelson generally had his empty sleeve attached to the breast of his coat ; but it was the *right* arm that he had lost. Without taking any notice of the apparent mistake, he asked the magician whether the objects appeared in the ink as if actually before the eyes, or as if in a glass, which makes the right appear the left. He answered that they appeared as if in a mirror,—a circumstance which rendered the boy's description faultless.

Vision of
other
persons.

Several other persons were successively called for ; but the descriptions of them were imperfect, though not altogether incorrect. He mentioned that each object appeared less distinct than the preceding one, as if his sight was gradually becoming dim ; and towards the close of the performance he was a minute or more before he could give any account of the persons he professed to see. The magician said it was useless to proceed with him. Another boy was brought, and the magic figure was made in his hand, but he could not see any thing. He was pronounced to be too old.

Scepticism.

It is stated that an English gentleman who was present on one occasion ridiculed the performance, and said

* " Dark blue is called by the modern Egyptians *es-wed*, which properly signifies black, and is therefore so translated here."

that nothing would satisfy him but a correct description of the appearance of his own father, of whom, he was sure, no one of the company had any knowledge. The boy, accordingly, having called by name for the person alluded to, described a man in a Frank dress, with his hand placed to his head, wearing spectacles, and with one foot on the ground, and the other raised behind him as if he were stepping down from a seat. The description was exactly true in every respect ; the peculiar position of the hand was occasioned by an almost constant headache, and that of the foot or leg, by a stiff knee, caused by a fall from a horse in hunting.

On another occasion Shakspeare was described with the most minute correctness, both as to person and dress ; and at a more recent period, after performing in the usual manner by means of a boy, the magician prepared his figures in the hand of a young English lady, who, on looking into it for a little while, said she saw a broom sweeping the ground without any body holding it, and was so much frightened that she would look no longer.

This account is abridged from the work of Mr Lane, who remarks, the reader may be tempted to think that, in each instance, the boy saw images by some reflection in the ink ; but this was evidently not the case ; or that he was a confederate ; or, finally, that he was guided by leading questions. “That there was no confederacy I satisfactorily ascertained by selecting the boy who performed the part above described from a number of others passing by in the street, and by his rejecting a present which I afterwards offered with the view of inducing him to confess that he really did not see what he professed to have seen. I tried the veracity of another boy on a subsequent occasion in the same manner, and the result was the same. The experiment often entirely fails ; but when the boy employed is right in one case, he generally is so in all ; and when he gives at first an account altogether wrong, the magician usually dismisses him at once, saying that he is too old. The perfumes, or excited imagination, or fear, may be supposed to affect

Experience
of an English
lady.

Remarks of
Mr. Lane.

Disproof of
confederacy

Frequency of
failure.

CHAP. X.

Unsatisfactory explanations.

Curiosity excited.

Attempts at explanation.

Use of a concave mirror.

Its ancient use.

the vision of the boy, who describes objects as appearing to him in the ink ; but if so, why does he see exactly what is required, and objects of which he can have had no previous notion ?”*

These facts, considered merely as the result of natural magic or of an ingenious legerdemain, have made a great impression among the learned in England, and have at the same time suggested several hypotheses to account for their evolution. For example, it has been assumed as one ground of explanation, that the reflected pictures of a series of objects were thrown from the surface of a concave mirror, fixed probably to some part of the magician’s garment, and concealed by the ample overlapping of his outer dress ; the burning of frankincense and coriander seed, and of the slips of paper, in the chafing-dish, repeated from time to time, afforded both light and a cloud of smoke, under the very nose of the boy, on which those images were received ; and his being forbidden to raise his eyes was no doubt to prevent his seeing the spot whence the stream of reflected light proceeded.

The concave mirror, it is farther observed, is the staple instrument of the magician’s cabinet, and must always perform a principal part in all optical combinations. In order to be quite perfect, every concave mirror should have its surface elliptical, so that if any object is placed in one focus of the ellipse, an inverted image of it will be formed in the other focus. This image, to a spectator rightly placed, appears suspended in the air, so that if the mirror and the object are hidden from his view, the effect must appear to him almost supernatural. It was by means of this apparatus that the heathen gods were made to appear in the ancient temples among the vapours disengaged from fire ; by it

* Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 341-357. The author subjoins ; “ Neither I nor others have been able to discover any clue by which to penetrate the mystery ; and if the reader be alike unable to give the solution, I hope that he will not allow the above account to induce in his mind any degree of scepticism with respect to other portions of this work.”

the ecclesiastical conjuror, the Pontiff Theodore Santubaren, exhibited to the Emperor Basil of Macedonia the image of his beloved son, after his death, magnificently dressed and mounted on a superb charger ; by it was performed the extraordinary exhibition described by Benvenuto Cellini and in which he was personally concerned, where whole legions of devils were made to appear amidst the cloudy atmosphere of a large apartment, created by the burning of incense and perfumes ; in short, by the same means, not many years ago, the people of England were made to see their distant and deceased friends in the phantasmagoria. Why then, it is asked in conclusion, may we not suppose that a native of a country celebrated in ancient times for its conjurors was perfectly acquainted with the effects of the concave mirror ?*

But this theory, plausible as it appears, does not fully elucidate the phenomenon in question. In the first place, it is manifest that the boy really sees what he describes, reflected in the ink dropped into his hand. This ink, we are assured by those who have witnessed the experiment, is not merely a black circle drawn on the palm, but about a tea-spoonful, forming a liquid ball about the size of a pistol bullet, poured into it. We might suppose that the magician availed himself of it, in order to present the appearances he wished him to describe ; but it is well observed in reply, that the certainty of his knowing no more about the persons called for than the child himself knows, sufficiently answers this supposition. Besides, the distance at which the boy, in many instances, sits from him, and the position of his hand, prevent the reflection being thrown from any mirror, or other object, with which he might be provided for that purpose. But a still stronger argument against the use of any legerdemain is derived from the remarkable fact, that some Europeans, after learning the secret, have

Unsatisfactory nature of all explanation.

Impossibility of deception.

* Quarterly Review, No. 117, p. 202, and Brewster on Natural Magic.

CHAP. X. declared that no such deception is practised ; that they themselves have succeeded in performing the same feats without recourse to any delusion ; and more especially that M. Delaborde, and others instructed in the art, were unable to explain in what manner they made the figures appear to the child.

Uniform preliminaries. It is not unworthy of notice, that in all the exhibitions the preliminary steps are nearly the same. First, there is the man sweeping ; then the flags to the number of seven ; next the tents, the soldiers, the bull, the sacrifice, the eating, the sultan, and the presentation of coffee to his highness. At this stage the magician usually says to the company, “Whatever question you wish to ask, now is the time.” M. Delaborde, who would not tell any of the party for whom he was to ask, in order to obviate the possibility of collusion, named the Duc de la Riviere. The boy repeated the order. A cavass, he said, has gone for him ; and an officer was brought into the presence of the sultan, dressed in uniform, with silver lace round his collar and cuffs, and round his hat. Delaborde observed, “this is an extraordinary coincidence ; Monsieur de la Riviere is the only officer in France whose uniform is decorated with silver lace. It is the uniform of the Grand Veneur.”

Proceedings of the magician. On this occasion the magician placed his hand over the boy’s eyes and took him from his seat. The child, whose countenance had brightened while seeing these strange sights, endeavoured by looking again into the ink in his hand to see them once more, but in vain. During the operation, when the first man appeared, he had explained how he was dressed, and told the colours and forms of the flags as they appeared, with the eagerness of delight : when, therefore, all was over the party questioned him on the subject, and asked him how he knew it was the sultan. He replied, his dress was magnificent, his attendants stood with their arms crossed over their breasts ; they served him in the tent ; he took the post of honour on the divan ; his pipes and coffee-cup stands were brilliant with diamonds. But,

Delight of the boy operated on.

he was again asked, how did you know that the sultan sent for the Duc de la Riviere ? The boy's expression was, "I saw the lips move to the words, and heard them in reply. my ear."

M. Delaborde, having learned the secret, was shortly after called to Alexandria, where he resolved on trying his success in a place where he felt sure that no understanding could be suspected between the sorcerer and the boys he employed. On one occasion he made one of his own friends appear who was resident at Cairo ; and the boy, after the description of his dress, which he gave very exactly, exclaimed, " Hold, he is a very singular person, he has a silver sabre." Now this gentleman, it is added, was perhaps the only one in Egypt who wore a sabre with a scabbard of this metal.

Another person, an Englishman, who resided many years in Egypt, also learned the art from the magician ; and one day while discoursing with him on the subject, he offered to make a trial whether he could perform the same feats. In order to ascertain this a boy was sent for, and after the usual preliminaries our countryman succeeded perfectly in every point. Being interrogated as to the means by which he had performed with so much success, he declared it was merely by the repetition of the forms taught him by the magician ; that he was himself totally unconscious of possessing any power or influence over the child who co-operated with him in the experiment ; that there was no approach to any collusion ; and that though he repeatedly did the same with similar results, he solemnly stated that, in every case, he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which it was effected.*

There is nothing so completely unaccountable in the whole of this mysterious process as the fact that the result could be attained by merely observing a certain formula, without being accompanied by any degree of

* *Revue des deux Mondes.* August 1833, and *Quarterly Review* No. 117, p. 205.

CHAP. X.
Unparalleled
nature of
these
conjurations.

African
dervishes.

Annual
festivals.

Eating
red-hot
charcoal

intelligence or consciousness. The East, it is true, is the proper scene for conjurors and for those who excel in slight of hand ; but such a species of phantasmagoria as excites the wonder of Egyptian tourists surpasses all that we have hitherto heard of Indian jugglers, dexterous though they unquestionably are in their various manipulations. It is not to be doubted, however, that the enlightened eye of some European observer will soon enable him to give a rational explanation of all these phenomena on the simple grounds of natural magic.

In reference to the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, it may not be out of place to remark, that there is a class of dervishes, natives of Northern Africa, whose performances are very extraordinary. At one of the annual festivals they repair to Cairo, where, during the vigils which precede the great celebration, they promote and share the enthusiasm it is meant to inspire. Mr Lane saw about twenty of them, variously dressed, sitting on the floor, close together in the form of a ring, and beating instruments similar to the tambourine. At length several of them rose up to dance, using odd gesticulations, and displaying the antics of madmen. One of them, a dark, spare, middle-aged man, after having danced in his odd manner a few minutes, and gradually become more wild and extravagant in his motions, rushed towards the ring formed by his brethren. In the middle of this ring was placed a small chafing-dish of tinned copper, full of red-hot charcoal. From this the dervish just mentioned seized a piece of live charcoal which he put into his mouth ; he did the same with another, a third, and a fourth, until his mouth was full. Then he deliberately chewed these live coals, opening his mouth very wide every moment to show its contents, which, after about three minutes he swallowed ; and all this he did without evincing the slightest symptom of pain, appearing during the operation even more lively than he was before.

Another dervish, after a similar exhibition of dancing, became so violent in his actions that one of his brethren

held him ; but releasing himself from his grasp, and CHAP. X.
rushing towards the chafing-dish, he took out one of Repetition of
the largest pieces of live coal and put it into his mouth. the act.
He kept his mouth wide open for about two minutes ;
and during this period, each time that he drew his
breath the coal appeared of almost a white red, and
numerous sparks were blown out from it. After this
he chewed and swallowed it, and then resumed his
dancing.*

But such exploits, however surprising in the eyes of Frequency
the uninitiated, are perfectly understood in other countries, and have even been surpassed in our own. They of such
form the amusement of a rude people, who take more Frequency
pleasure in indulging the emotion of wonder than in seeking for a philosophical explanation of its cause ; and Frequency
it may perhaps be regarded as a proof of advancing Frequency
civilisation in Egypt that such exhibitions are every Frequency
year becoming less attractive.

Though some of the yearly commemorations of the Mohammedan ritual are disgraced by scenes similar to Solemnity
those just described, the utmost solemnity and decorum and decorum
are observed in the public worship of the people at large. of public
We are assured that their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of Devotional
calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of an spirit.
irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride of fanaticism which they display in common life, in intercourse with persons of a different faith, seems to be laid aside when they enter the consecrated walls, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their creator, humble without any affectation of lowliness or any forced expression of countenance. The contrite Moslem takes off his shoes at the door of the temple, carries them in his left hand, and puts his right foot first over the threshold. Having performed the preparatory oblation, that he may come before his God in a state of bodily purity, he places himself in such a posi-

CHAP. X.

tion that his head may easily touch the ground when prostrating himself before the majesty of heaven.

Concluding
remarks.Ideas of
slavery.

We conclude this chapter with a remark truly characteristic of the manners of modern Egypt, and of the feelings which were engrafted upon the minds of the higher class by the long-continued sway of the Mam-louks. Before the reign of the present viceroy, it was customary, even among a people rigidly attached to the distinctions of hereditary rank, to reserve their highest respect for the purchased slave whose relations were unknown, and whose bravery or other personal qualities had raised him to the first honours in the country. General Reynier mentions that he has heard even Turkish officers say of persons who occupied great posts, "He is a man of the best connexions,—he was bought."*

* Reynier, *L'Egypte*, p. 68, quoted by M. Malte-Brun, vol. ii p. 107.

CHAPTER XI.

Egyptian Hierography.

The Rosetta Stone—Legitimate interest of Egyptian Antiquities—Former Hieroglyphic investigations—Their futility—Kircher's System—George Zoega, Young, and Wilkinson—Personal controversy—Deciphering of the Rosetta Stone—Egyptian Papyri—The Coptic Language—Prospects of future discovery—Egyptian Mythology—Probability of future disclosures—Fruits of the Egyptian Expedition of Napoleon.

THE discovery of the Rosetta Stone, at the close of last CHAP. XI.
century, which gave rise to such lively anticipations of ^{The Rosetta} _{Stone.} the immediate disclosure of the whole mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics was for years a source of disappointment and vain speculations. The mystery which had so many ages hung over the engraved records of Egypt had sufficed to clothe them with an exaggerated value. It was believed that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments included a complete record of all early science, nor was it doubted by many that they embodied numerous truths long lost to the world. Could the secret of their characters be recovered, it was anticipated that they would be found to contain a summary of the most important mysteries of nature, and the rudiments of the knowledge which is partially indicated in the allusions of classic writers. It is not therefore to be

CHAP. XL.

Sources of
interest in
Egypt.

wondered at that men, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, should from time to time seek to assail these ancient store-houses of learning, and strive to unriddle the mystery which for so many centuries had baffled every inquirer. The early history of Egypt was in itself sufficient to tempt men to strive to master the records of its former greatness. The prominent part which is given to it in the only book which has been preserved to us from the period of its early grandeur, and that the best of all books, the revelation of divine will to man, naturally invests it with a peculiar interest for us. It was not without reason that our chief curiosity about the monuments of the Nile valley originated till recently in its being the scene of the early years of the Hebrew race, and the locality wherein they took form as a nation. To the inquiring and intelligent mind the Bible is an endless source of curious investigation and earnest desire after further truth. It reveals to him the most momentous truths concerning his own origin and his future destiny. But it likewise furnishes him with many glimpses of other truths, concerning which he longs to learn more. It reveals incidents in the history of nations that have borne the foremost place in the records of past ages; and exhibits traits of domestic manners and social habits, affording slight yet valuable insight into a state of things long since obsolete.

Legitimate
basis of
Interest.

The legitimate basis of our interest in Egyptian antiquities is thus concisely stated by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in the preface to the first series of his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," published in 1837:—"Egyptian history, and the manners of one of the most ancient nations, cannot but be interesting to every one; and so intimately connected are they with the scriptural accounts of the Israelites, and the events of succeeding ages relative to Judea, that the name of Egypt need only be mentioned to recall the early impressions we have received from the study of the Bible. Another striking result derived from the examination

of Egyptian history, is the conviction, that, at the most remote period into which we have been able to penetrate, civilized communities already existed, and society possessed all the features of later ages. We have been enabled, with a sufficient degree of precision, to fix the bondage of the Israelites and the arrival of Joseph; and though these events took place at an age when nations are generally supposed to have been in their infancy, and in a state of barbarism, yet we perceive that the Egyptians had then arrived at as perfect a degree of civilization as at any subsequent period of their history. They had the same arts, the same manners and customs, the same style of architecture, and were in the same advanced state of refinement, as in the reign of Remeses II.; and no very remarkable changes took place, even in ever varying taste, between the accession of the first Osirtasen and the death of that conqueror, who was the last monarch of the 18th dynasty. What high antiquity does this assign to civilization! The most remote point, to which we can see, opens with a nation possessing all the arts of civilized life already matured; and though penetrating so far into the early history of the world, we find that the infancy of the Egyptian state is placed considerably beyond our reach. And, if Egypt presents no other attractions, the certainty of its being the oldest state, of which we have any positive and tangible records, must awaken feelings of interest, to which no contemplative mind can remain indifferent."

The recent discoveries of Dr. Leyard, Major Rawlinson, and others, of the relics of Assyrian empire, may perhaps be held to require some modification of these latter observations. The cuneiform character of the Nimrod marbles and cylinders are already being decyphered, and their ivories and sculptures are clearly seen to point not only to a history contemporaneous with that of Egypt, but even promise to throw additional light on the latter. Time, however, must show what will be the historic fruits of these discoveries; nor need we appre-

CHAP. XI.
Evidences of
early civiliza-
tion.

Bearing on
the history of
man.

Assyrian
antiquities.

CHAP. XI. hend that, in their utmost disclosures, they will cast into the shade the wonders which invite our study in the monuments of Egyptian art.

Various interests associated in the investigation.

Influence of curiosity.

Glimpses of travellers.

It has thus happened, that sympathies of a widely opposite class have been enlisted in the desire for recovering the hidden lore of Egypt. The classical scholar looked to it for the disclosure of truths familiar to the philosophers of Greece, but which we only guess the existence of from the disputed allusions of Plato and Aristotle. The student of science was not without hope that secrets in medicine, in astronomy, in mathematics, might be hid under these strange symbols, amid which he was able to trace—as in the gorgeous ceiling at Dendera—the records of a system of astronomical science, established ere the barbarian Roman had laid the foundation of later empire. To these several motives for investigating the secrets of Egyptian records, we may add the scarcely less influential one of natural curiosity, and the desire to overcome obstacles which had so long baffled the most zealous attempts. To this latter source may be ascribed with considerable justice much of the zeal which was manifested by the savans of the eighteenth century, and the very questionable results which it produced. Without any very special cause arousing general attention to the subject, various disclosures sufficed from time to time to keep some degree of interest alive. Travellers occasionally overcame the obstacles to the exploration of the ancient scenes of Egyptian art and worship, and brought back with them fresh glimpses of the wonders disclosed to their view; not rarely adding to these some new theories and speculations of their own, calculated, as they conceived, to throw some light on the mysteries of the Nile. “The occasional transmission to European cabinets,” says Gliddon, “of some relics of Egyptian civilization, furnished evidences of the immense progress, which, at an *ancient*, but then undefined period, had been made in all arts and sciences by the Egyptians. With the aid of such corroborations of the misshapen

mass of classical knowledge, expended, from the days of CHAP. XL
Homer, in an attempted explanation of Egyptian Archæology, the attention of the most learned of all nations was directed to the antiquities of Egypt; and although, in Europe, these particular inquiries recommenced probably about three hundred years ago; yet the 18th century was fruitful, beyond all preceding periods, in ponderous tomes, purporting more or less to cast some light on the important, but conflicting traditions of that country. The Greek, the Hebrew, the Roman, the Armenian, the Indian, and the Coptic authorities were consulted. Passages, in themselves irreconcileable, were with more ingenuity than success collated, analyzed, and mutually adjusted: but rather to the personal satisfaction of the compiler, than to the correct elucidation of Unprofitable labour. any one given idea on ancient Egypt, transmitted to us by these classical writers. Still, the spirit of inquiry was awakened; the lamp of investigation was partially lighted; the learned world became gradually more and more familiarized with the subject; and, at the present hour, if we laugh at the conclusions at which some of these students arrived, we must still render to them full credit for the profundity of their futile investigations, and admire the patient perseverance and resolution with which they grappled with mysteries, the solution whereof was to them as hopeless in expectation, as abortive in success. Vain would it be, without ransacking the libraries of every civilized country, and selecting from their dusty shelves the vast accumulation of works, published by the learned and the unlearned during the last three centuries, to attempt a detailed specification of the extraordinary aberrations of human intellect; those manifold and incomprehensible misconceptions on ancient Egypt, that, at the present hour, excite our surprise and our regret. The mere mechanical labour of such an undertaking would be more tedious than any literary enterprise we can well conceive; while its result would be unprofitable, beyond the moral it would teach."

Revival of
hieroglyphic
inquiries.

Unprofitable
labour.

Imp possibility
of studying
their works.

CHAP. XI. There was much, however, to tempt the fancy to explore the records of Egyptian hieroglyphical inscriptions. Tempting nature of the inquiry. At first sight there seems ground whereon one might hope to rear a basis of truth, from whence to master the whole.

Supposing it to be a purely representative system of picture writing, it seemed to require little more than a tolerably clear understanding of the intended representations of objects in order to master the whole. The Aztecs of the New World had such a hieroglyphic system in use, and their picture-writing still survives on many of the monuments of Mexico and Yucatan. There is good reason to believe that it was no more than an abbreviated system of literal representation, such as the Egyptian system of hieroglyphic writing was universally believed to be prior to the discoveries of the present century. An illustration of the mode adopted by the natives of America, in making use of their system of picture-writing on extraordinary occasions, is shown in the account preserved by the early Spanish discoverers of America. We learn from them that the Indian scouts despatched to bring back word of the strange invaders who threatened the kingdom of Montezuma, informed their master of the arrival and appearance of Cortez and his followers, by sketches of the Spaniards, their ships, horses, firearms, &c. Such was no doubt the origin of the Egyptian system. It was at first no more than a rude method of conveying an idea of objects by miniature representations of them. The earliest refinement on this would consist chiefly in the most natural mode of abbreviation, by substituting a part for the whole. In this way the crown became the symbol of the *king*, and the inkhorn of the *scribe*; or again, a male and female figure together stood for *mankind*, an ox with three lines below it for *oxen*, or *many oxen*, &c.

Origin of both systems. Even in such a simple mode of conveying ideas, there is manifestly room for considerable diversity of interpretation; and some of the discussions to which such differences have given rise are amusing enough. When, more-

Uncertainty of interpretation.

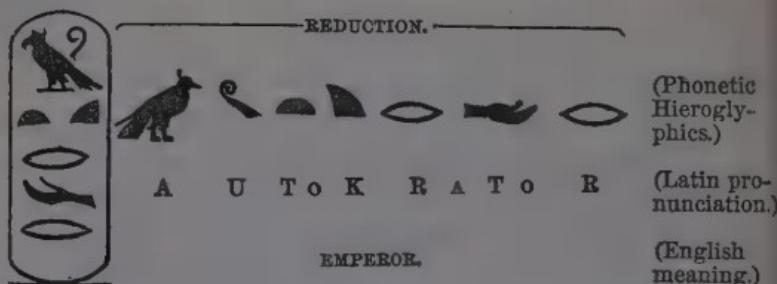
over, so rude a system of writing was supposed to be CHAP. XL.
adapted without any modified application of such primitive symbols to the expression of abstract ideas and historic records, we need not wonder that the utmost inconsistency appears when we attempt to compare the results of modern investigation. It is indeed now universally acknowledged, that the whole body of European hierographers, up to the year 1790, have failed to furnish one single inference or deduction of the least value. The following sketch by Mr. Gliddon, in his "Ancient Egypt," will furnish the reader with some idea of the rambling speculations, with which the older antiquaries of Europe were wont to occupy their time, in attempting the elucidation of the inscriptions on the monuments of Egypt:—

Uselessness
of former in-
vestigations.

"In the year 1636, a learned Jesuit, the celebrated Father Kircher, published a mighty work, in six ponderous folios, entitled '*OEdipus Aegyptiacus*,' wherein imagination took the place of common sense, and fantastic conjecture was substituted for fact. Kircher explained every Egyptian hieroglyphic by the application of a sublimity of mysticism, from which to the ridiculous the transition is immediate. Dark and impenetrable as had been the '*Isiac Veil*,' before Kircher directed his gigantic efforts to its removal, we do him but justice in declaring, that he succeeded in enveloping Egyptian studies with an increased density of gloom it has taken nearly two hundred years to dissipate! Kircher had his *His disciples*, disciples, his followers, and his admirers—he founded a school of mysticism, in which the students outvied their master in love of the incomprehensible; and, abandoning the simplest elements of reason and sound criticism, they all pretended to discover, or to have the hope of finding, in the papyri, obelisks, idols, mummy cases, weapons, household utensils, &c. of the Ancient Egyptians, all the recondite combinations of cabalistic science, and the monstrous reveries 'of a demonomania the most refined.' As an instance:

"The Pamphilian Obelisk, re-erected in 1651 in the

CHAP. XI. Piazza Navona at Rome by Pope Innocent the Tenth,
 The Pamphi-
 lian obelisk. was brought to Europe by the Roman Emperors. It contains, among other subjects, the following oval, since deciphered Autokrator, or Emperor :—



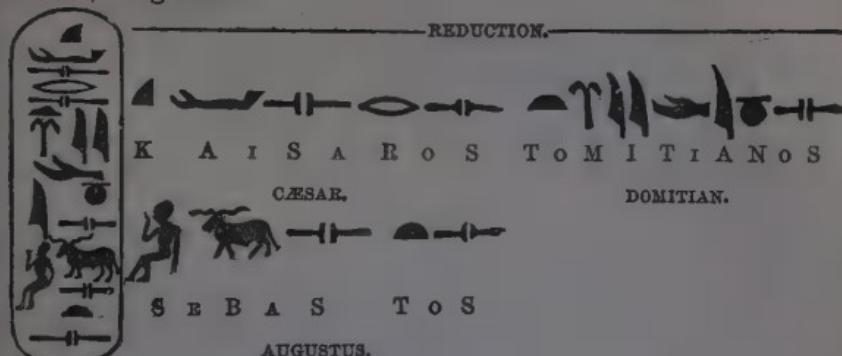
Interpretation by Kircher

This Cartouche, according to Kircher's *interpretation* expressed *emblematically*, 'the author of fecundity and of all vegetation, is Osiris, of which the generative faculty is drawn from heaven into his kingdom by the Saint Moptha.' And who is this *Saint Moptha*? An Egyptian genius invented by Kircher himself!"

Opinions of his labours.

It is not without reason that another critic has said of the learned but mystical Jesuit, that his interpretation succeeded equally well whether he began at the beginning or the end of an inscription. His system was based on an admixture of presumed symbolism, and altogether baseless fancy, such as left the inscriptions open to almost any meaning that each successive interpreter might infer. Occasionally one can detect the basis of his ideas, as when he begins the oval of Domitian, hereafter referred to, "*The Beneficent Being*," we find its first hieroglyphic figure an extended arm and open hand, which might possibly be the accepted symbol of such an interpretation. It is worthy of note, however, as a proof of the slight degree of consistency apparent in his attempted interpretations, that while the same hieroglyphic figure is repeated five times in this single oval, we look in vain for any repetition in the Jesuit's translation, with the exception of the single recurrence of the word power. The following are Gliddon's remarks on the interpretation of the cartouche of Domitian :—

"The same obelisk contains also the oval, which is now CHAP. XL
read, Kaisaros, Tomitianos, Sebastos, that is, Cæsar, Do-
mitian, Augustus.



"Kircher translates it—'The beneficent Being, who presides over generation, who enjoys heavenly dominion, and fourfold power, commits the atmosphere, by means of Moptha, the beneficent (principle of?) atmospheric humidity unto Ammon, most powerful over the lower parts (of the world,) who, by means of an image and appropriate ceremonies, is drawn to the exercising of his power.'

"The Pamphilian obelisk contains in its legends 'Son of the Sun, Lord of the Diadems (i. e. Ruler of Rulers) Autocrator Cæsar Domitian Augustus'—besides the usual titles found on Egyptian Obelisks. These monuments are granite monoliths, cut by order of the kings of Egypt; and were placed, always in pairs, before the entrances of temples or palaces, to record that such kings had built, increased in extent, repaired, or otherwise embellished these edifices. This was, however, cut at Syene, in Roman times, in honour of Domitian.

"According even to a more recent authority, quoted in the *Precis*, of the year 1821 'Genoa-Archipiscopal press,' this identical obelisk 'preserves the record of the triumph over the Impious, obtained by the adorers of the most Holy Trinity, and of the Eternal Word, under the government of the 6th and 7th kings of Egypt, in the 6th century after the deluge.'

Recent mis-
interpreta-
tio

CHAP. XI.

Contra-
diction of
dates.Chevalier de
Palin.Count Cay-
lus.Comparison
of Egyptian
and Assy-
rian hiero-
glyphics.

" This obelisk was cut in Egypt about eighty years after Christ. By the above *interpretation*, the doctrines of Christianity must have existed some 2500 years before its founder. And one of the pious adorers and good *Christians*, who must thus have ruled in Egypt, was, in later times, (about 970 B. C.) Shishak—or SHESHONK, who, according to hieroglyphical legends at Karnac, conquered the ' kingdom of Judah ; ' and, according to 2nd Chron. xii. 1st to 10th verses, and 1 Kings xiv. 25th, deposed Rehoboam, plundered Jerusalem, desecrated the Temple, and removed the golden bucklers from the sanc-
tuary with the treasures of the house of David !

" Again, in 1812, the learned mystagogue, Chevalier de Palin, boldly undertook the deciphering of *all* Egyptian hieroglyphics, and asserts to the effect, that we have only to translate the Psalms of David into *Chinese*, and transpose them into the *ancient* characters of that language, to reproduce the *Egyptian papyri*! that *Hebrew translations* of some *Egyptian* records are to be found in the Bible ; and, while the portico of the temple of Dendera contains, among various subjects, dedications of the Roman Emperors, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero (dating between the years 14 and 60 after Christ,) another theorist, Count Caylus, combining what he terms the ' Symbols of Nations ' in Africa, Asia, Europe, and America, applied *his* results to this unfortunate tem-
ple ; asserting, that the hieroglyphics thereon contain merely a ' translation of the 100th Psalm of David, com-
posed to invite the people to enter into the temple of God.' "

At the first glance it seems much more likely, that the hieroglyphics on the Egyptian temples should be deciphered, than that any amount of research or learning should now suffice to recover the secrets veiled under the arbitrary characters of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. In so far as the hieroglyphic characters are to be regarded as pictures, or even symbols, all men are capable of arriving at some conclusion regarding them.

Influence of
conjectural
speculations.

The above examples, however, amply suffice to show what value could be attached to any such conjectural readings. Each man found an interpretation according to his own fancy, till scholars in general became wearied with speculations that led to no definite or reconcilable results, and the world not unreasonably adopted the conclusion that Egyptian researches were only fit to rank along with the alchymist's painful endeavours to possess the elixir of life or the philosopher's stone. But we must not altogether judge of the labours of these learned students of the 17th and 18th centuries by their direct or apparent results. Extravagant as was the mystical system of interpretation of Father Kircher, he and his disciples were no ineffectual pioneers in the elucidation of Egyptian learning. Whatever research and study could recover they did. The Greek and Roman authors were ransacked for every reference and allusion that could be brought to bear on the subject; so that, when chance threw a clearer and more trustworthy light on the object of their laborious investigations, their successors were able to enter on the direct investigation of the hieroglyphical inscriptions amply furnished with all the knowledge that classic lore could supply.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, more direct and valuable results repaid the zeal of the few scholars who had still sufficient courage to devote themselves to what seemed so vain and hopeless a study. New light seemed to dawn on their investigations preparatory to the discovery of the key which was destined to unlock the long-closed barrier, and unriddle the mystery of the Sphynx. "The first real step," says Gliddon, "made into hieroglyphical arcana, is to be dated from 1797, when the learned Dane, George Zoega, published at Rome his folio, 'De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum,' explanatory of the Egyptian obelisks. It was the first time that learning and practical common sense had been united in Egyptian researches; and likewise the first time that an attempt had been made to give

First intelli-
gent specu-
lations.

George
Zoega.

CHAP XI.

The Car-
touches.Phonetic
use of hiero-
glyphics.Value of
these results.Influence of
Napoleon.Scientific
coadjutors.

fac simile copies of hieroglyphical texts. George Zoega was the first who suggested that the elliptical ovals (now termed 'Cartouches,') containing groups of then unknown characters, were probably *proper names*; although he was not aware that (with the exception of a few instances, wherein they contain the names of *Deities*) they exclusively inclose the titles or names of *Pharaohs*. A similar idea was maintained, I believe, by the Abbé Barthélémy; but a quarter of a century elapsed before this fundamental principle of hieroglyphic writing was determined. To George Zoega also belongs the merit of employing the term *phonetic* (from the Greek Φονη, meaning 'expressive of sound,') and the conjecture that some of the figures of animals, &c., found in the legends of Egypt, must represent *sounds*, and were possibly *letters*."

Extremely partial as these results were, they proved of no slight importance when the means was discovered, a few years later, by which they could be turned to account. Dr. Russell has already glanced, in the previous pages, at the discovery of the celebrated Rosetta Stone, and the consequences which have flowed from its triplicate inscription. Much, however, has been done since his work was finished to give new interest and importance to the study of hierology; and we may therefore glance back on its early history, in order fully to understand these results. We owe, undoubtedly, to the ambitious projects of Napoleon, the revival of general interest in Egyptian antiquities, and the acquirement of the means for turning these to account. "Before the year 1800," says Gliddon, "Egypt was a sealed book, whose pages could not be opened, until Napoleon's thunder-bolts had riven the clasps asunder." Whatever view we may incline to take of the restless and insatiable ambition of Napoleon, it affords no trifling evidence of the beneficent influence of civilization in controlling and overruling the evils of war, to find the legions of France accompanied by a body of savans, no less ambitious for trophies won in the peaceful triumphs of science and

knowledge, than were the Emperor's soldiers for the CHAP. XL
bloody glories of conquest.

The first result of this scientific expedition to Egypt, was the great French work, the "Description de l'Egypt," containing the fruits of the united labours of the French savans, and published at the expense of the Government. This great and truly national contribution to literature gave an immediate stimulus to Egyptian studies. For the first time it had become possible to obtain a faithful and intelligent conception of the magnificence and variety of Egyptian architecture, and of the evidence of ancient civilization and high attainments in the arts, which these monuments of that remarkable people exhibit. The architect was now put in possession of measurements and details of the utmost value to him, as indicating the source from whence the Greeks derived their architecture, and consequently the originating models of Roman, Romanesque, Byzantine, and even Medieval Gothic architecture. The sculptor, in like manner, learned of much that had influenced the early history of his art, and unlearned many crude and unfounded misconceptions of the works of these Egyptian precursors of Phidias and Praxitiles. In its direct bearing on the elucidation of hieroglyphics, however, the "Description de l'Egypt" proved of no great value. It was comparatively easy for the French artist to give correct delineations and measurements of the temples; but the hieroglyphics which adorned them were to him mere arbitrary signs or chance varieties of ornamental decoration, in reducing which to paper he too often satisfied himself with only producing such general resemblance as might satisfy the eye. The great French work has accordingly decreased in value with the progress of knowledge, and it is now no longer appealed to as an authority for the most important class of delineations which it professed to furnish.

Dr. Thomas Young remarks, in his "Discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature":—"The French Expedition to

The "Description de l'Egypt."

Its valuable results.

Its deficiencies.

Dr. Young's remarks.

CHAP. XL. Egypt was most liberally provided, by the government of the day, with a select body of antiquaries, and architects, and surveyors, and naturalists, and draughtsmen, whose business it was to investigate all that was interesting to science or to literature in that singular country. Their labours have been made public, with all the advantages of chalcographical and typographical elegance, in the splendid collection entitled ‘*Description de l’Egypte*.’

Chief results of the French expedition.

But it is scarcely too much to say, that the only real benefit conferred on Egyptian literature by that expedition was the discovery of a huge broken block of black stone in digging for the foundations of Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, which the British army had afterwards the honour of bringing to this country, as a proud trophy of their gallantry and success. It is not to a want of ability, nor of industry, nor of accuracy, nor of fidelity, in the Egyptian Commission, that so total a failure is to be attributed, but partly to the real difficulty of the subject, and still more to the pre-conceived opinion, which was very generally entertained by their men of letters, of the exorbitant antiquity of the Egyptian works of art, which caused them to neglect the lights that might have been derived from a comparison of Greek and Roman inscriptions with the hieroglyphics in their neighbourhood; and to suppose that whatever bore the date of less than thirty or forty centuries must necessarily be an interpolation, unconnected with the original architecture and decorations of the edifice to which it belonged; and when a strong prejudice has once been imbibed, we all know that the senses themselves are perpetually blunted and perverted by it, even without the consent of the reasoning powers.”

Causes of failure.

The fortunate discovery.

Chance, however, furnished in this latter branch of Egyptian research ■ more valuable contribution to our knowledge than all that had been accomplished by the labours and the learning of centuries, in the celebrated stone already referred to. In digging the foundations of a fort near Rosetta, at one of the mouths of

the Nile, the French discovered an inscribed block of CHAP. XL black basalt, which, along with the other antiquities secured by the army of Napoleon in Egypt, was brought home to England, and is now familiarly known as the Rosetta Stone. This valuable relic, which forms one of the most interesting features of the Egyptian collection in the British Museum, contains an inscription in three distinct characters—the *Hieroglyphic*, or sacred ; the *Enchorial*, or common Egyptian ; and the *Greek*. From the terms of the latter, it became immediately apparent that the three inscriptions were versions of the same decree, in the several characters ; and this was further confirmed by observing that the hieroglyphic inscription ends with the numerals I. II. and III., where the Greek has “The first and the second” the remainder being broken away. A key seemed to be at length found to the long-hidden mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which had mocked the curious zeal of ages with the vain offer of unrevealed secrets. An accurate fac-simile of the three inscriptions was engraved, and extensively circulated by the Society of Antiquaries. The Greek text Greek Text was translated and discussed by Porson and Heyne, the most eminent among the Greek scholars of Germany and England. But there explanation paused ; and it seemed as if, after all the high anticipations excited by this discovery, it was to prove altogether fruitless. The causes of this are easily explained. Unfortunately, a considerable part of the hieroglyphic inscription was injured or destroyed. The beginning of the enchorial and the conclusion of the Greek inscriptions were in like manner defaced ; so that precise points of coincidence were wanting from whence to set out in deciphering the unknown by the known characters. Dr. Thomas Young was the first to master any of the unknown hieroglyphics. With great sagacity, he noted the recurrence of certain words, such as Alexander, Ptolemy, &c. ; and in corresponding parts both of the enchorial and hieroglyphic inscriptions, he detected corresponding groups of characters, and

The Rosetta Stone.

Its inscriptions.

Dr. Young's discoveries.

CHAP. XI.

established the important fact, which had been previously assumed as probable by Zoega, that these proper names are distinguished by the enclosing oval or royal *cartouche*, of such frequent occurrence on all Egyptian monuments. This discovery, however, sufficed to prove that the Greek is not a literal translation of the Egyptian. The names do not invariably recur in corresponding places of the several inscriptions, synonyms or pronouns being substituted for them ; so that the Greek cannot be assumed as expressing more than the general meaning of the other inscriptions. This of course greatly detracts from the assumed value of the Rosetta Stone as a key to the hieroglyphics ; and though it has now been familiar to the scholars of Europe for nearly half a century, a literal translation of its symbols still remains unaccomplished."

Greek and
Roman
writers.

"Accustomed," says an English critic, "to a method of writing which employed signs as the representatives of *sounds* merely, the Greek and Roman authors, who had, either directly or indirectly, acquired any tolerably distinct notions of the graphic system of the ancient Egyptians, and, in particular, of their monumental writing, appear to have been chiefly struck with the *figurative* and *symbolic*, or, in other words, *ideographic*, characters, intermixed in it : these, as the most remote from the nature of the signs they themselves made use of, seem to have almost exclusively engaged their attention. Hence, they nowhere expressly mention any other order of characters ; they nowhere explicitly and distinctly state, what they could hardly fail to have known, that the Egyptians employed, at the same time, a certain class of signs as *phonetic*, or as the representatives of simple sounds. Even Clemens Alexandrinus himself, in a celebrated passage, describes the phonetic hieroglyphics in the most concise manner ;—so concise, indeed, that his statement, from being isolated and unaccompanied with explanation, remained quite unintelligible, till recent discoveries furnished a key to its meaning.

Their mode
of treating
the subject.

"It is chiefly to this circumstance that we are to at-

tribute the ineffectual efforts of the moderns to decipher CHAP. XI.
 the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Finding in the classic Misdirected
 authors indications only of *symbolic* signs, and of *images* efforts.
 of objects, and never once suspecting the existence of any other, the learned of the last three centuries invariably concluded that the hieroglyphic writing was *solely* composed of characters each of which was the representative of an idea. On this elementary principle they were all agreed ; and, to say the truth, it seemed to receive confirmation from the fact, that the forms and values of a certain number of hieroglyphic symbols had been indicated by Diodorus Siculus, Horus Apollo, Plutarch, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius. The number of these symbols, compared with the immense variety of characters observable on the monuments, was, indeed, extremely small ; but modern ingenuity soon supplied the defects of the ancient records. From the preconceived notion that each hieroglyph was the representative of a distinct idea, the great object of ambition came to be, to extort per force the esoteric meaning which it was supposed to involve. It was never doubted that the most profound Number of mysteries of nature and art lay hidden in these monumental sculptures ; the simplest characters were conceived Anticipated results.
 to be the types of ideas too lofty for vulgar comprehension, and worthy of the eternal records to which their preservation had been consigned. Thus, imagination usurping the place of reason, and conjecture that of fact, the learned, who had addicted themselves to these inquiries, soon became involved in an inextricable labyrinth, and like Milton's devils, posed by their metaphysical speculations, 'found no end in wandering mazes lost.' "

English readers are well aware that this important Rival discovery has been the subject of much jealousy and jealousies. acrimonious disputation. Champollion, the celebrated French historian and archæologist, devoted himself with untiring assiduity to the elucidation of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and regarded with no slight degree of jealousy the claims of Dr. Thomas Young to be the first demon-

CHAP. XI.

Proceedings
of Champol-
lion.His first
opinions.His second
work.

strator of the value of certain Egyptian characters, as well as of the probable universality of the phonetic principle in their use. The proceedings of Champollion in this personal controversy cannot be viewed as otherwise than derogatory to his character as an honest student of science. In 1811 he was appointed professor of history in the Lyceum of Grenoble, and three years afterwards he published his first work, entitled "Egypt under the Pharaohs." It is a descriptive and geographical work, leaving untouched the question of hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the exception of the following vague allusion in its preface :—"That it is to be hoped from the monuments on which ancient Egypt painted mere material objects, we shall be able at length to discover the sounds of its language, and the expressions of its thought." At this time the Rosetta Stone had been in England for upwards of twelve years, and copies, casts, and partial translations of it had been familiar to scholars in every country of Europe, yet absolutely nothing had been done to elucidate the mystery of hieroglyphic writing, save the shrewd observation due to Akerblad, that the numerals at the end of the hieroglyphic inscription corresponded with the termination of that in Greek ; and that it was evident moreover from the tenor of the Greek inscription, that the hieroglyphic language and characters continued to be employed and understood so late as the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. Seven years elapsed, at the end of which Champollion published a second work, entitled "Of the Hieratic Writing of the Ancient Egyptians," in which he expresses the opinion, "That the hieratic characters are merely a modification of the hieroglyphic symbols, adopted for the sake of brevity, and forming a sort of hieroglyphic short-hand ; and that neither were alphabetic characters, as had been supposed by some, both the hieratic characters and the hieroglyphic characters, from whence they proceed, being the representatives of objects and not of sounds." This, which was published in the year 1821, leaves no possible

room to doubt that Champollion was ignorant at that time, not only of the phonetic value of a single Egyptian hieroglyphic or hieratic character, but that he positively disbelieved in any such value having ever been attached to them. To one who examines into the nature of the Inconsistent conclusions, controversy, and considers what was already known by means of the Greek version of the inscription, it seems surprising that the French professor should have put forth such an affirmation which rested on no better foundation than ignorance. The characters in which the second version of the Rosetta inscription is engraved, are styled in the Greek *enchoria grammata*, or letters of the country. Such a term doubtless might possibly apply to characters expressive of objects only, but it seems extremely unlikely, and would almost naturally suggest an opposite conclusion. The enchorial, indeed, differs from the hieratic, but apparently only in degree, both being, what M. Champollion in his work "De l'Ecriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens," affirmed of the former, modifications of the hieroglyphic system, or, in other words, a hieroglyphic tachygraphy, or abbreviated mode of writing. This opinion, however, would seem naturally to lead to the very opposite opinion from that expressed by Champollion, that the hieratic characters, and consequently the hieroglyphic, are signs of *things*, not signs of *sounds*.

Long before Champollion had given such unequivocal expression to opinions since proved to be erroneous and unfounded, Dr. Thomas Young, whom Arago has pronounced to be "one of the greatest men of whom England has had to boast in modern times," was amusing himself with hierological investigations pregnant with the most momentous results. The following is Dr. Young's own account of the investigations founded on the Rosetta inscriptions :—"The pillar of Rosetta was now safely and quietly deposited in the British Museum ; the Society of Antiquaries had engraved, and very generally circulated, a correct copy of its three inscriptions ;

Dr. Thomas
Young.

Enchorial
and hieratic
writing.

CHAP. XI.
Greek
version of
Rosetta
inscription.

and several of the best scholars of the age, in particular Porson and Heyne, had employed themselves in completing and illustrating the Greek text, which constituted the third part of the inscription ; and it so happened that, although no person acquainted with both these critics could hesitate to give the general preference, for acuteness of observation, and felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment, to the English professor, yet in this instance the superior industry and vigilance of the German had given him decidedly the advantage, with respect to two or three passages, in which their translations happen to differ. But Greek was already sufficiently understood, both in London and at Gottingen, to make this part of the investigation comparatively insignificant. Mr. Akerblad, a diplomatic gentleman, then at Paris, but afterwards the Swedish resident at Rome, had begun to decipher the middle division of the inscription, after De Sacy had given up the pursuit as hopeless, notwithstanding that he had made out very satisfactorily the names of Ptolemy and Alexander. But both he and Mr. Akerblad proceeded upon the erroneous, or at least imperfect, evidence of the Greek authors, who have pretended to explain the different modes of writing among the ancient Egyptians, and who have asserted very distinctly that they employed on many occasions an alphabetical system composed of twenty-five letters only."

Akerblad and
De Sacy's
labours.

Difficulties of
the attempt.

So difficult was the task of mastering the hieroglyphical riddle, even after the key had been discovered by which its secret stores have been unlocked. Such vague and uncertain speculations proved nearly the sole results of the Rosetta Stone for above fourteen years, and the professor of history at Grenoble had, as we have seen, after twenty years possession of the triplicate inscription of Ptolemy Epiphanes, turned it to no better account than to deny the phonetic character of either the hieroglyphic or enchorial signs, of which he afterwards claimed to be the first and sole discoverer. To return, however, to Dr.

Young's narrative of his discoveries in hieroglyphic literature, after glancing at one source of error in the interesting investigations of Mr. Akerblad, and alluding to the unnecessary rejection by Champollion of the term *enchorial*, which he had adopted from the Greek inscription, to designate the popular Egyptian writing, and the substitution of the name *demotic*, he goes on to say :—“ Mr. Akerblad was far from having completed his examination of the whole enchorial inscription, apparently from the want of some collateral encouragement or co-operation, to induce him to continue so laborious an inquiry ; and he had made little or no effort to understand the first inscription of the pillar, which is professedly engraved in the sacred character, except the detached observation respecting the numerals at the end : he was even disposed to acquiesce in the correctness of Mr. Palin's interpretation, which proceeds on the supposition that parts of the first lines of the hieroglyphics are still remaining on the stone.”

Misdirected labours of Akerblad.

“ It was natural to expect that, after the possibility of a partial success, in this part of the undertaking, had been almost demonstrated by what Mr. Akerblad had cursorily observed, the critics and chronologists of all civilized countries would have united, heart and hand, in a common effort to obtain a legitimate solution of all the doubts and difficulties in which the early antiquities of Egypt had long remained involved. But, excepting M. Champollion and myself, they have all chosen to amuse themselves with their own speculations and conjectures. The mathematicians of France have continued to calculate, and the metaphysicians of England have continued to argue, upon elements which it was impossible either to prove or disprove ; while the fortuitous coincidences of some accidental results, with the collateral testimony of history or of astronomy, have been forced into the service of the delusion, as evidences of the truth of the hypotheses from which they had been deduced. Nor are these amusements even at this moment discontinued

Inducement to combined exertions.

Fruitless system pursued.

CHAP XI.

by some perhaps who have shown themselves capable of doing better things.

Dr. Young's mode of procedure.

First partial deciphering.

Imperfect results.

" It was early in the year 1814, that I had been examining the fragments of papyrus brought from Egypt by Mr. Boughton ; and that, after looking over Mr. Akerblad's pamphlet in a hasty manner, I communicated a few anonymous remarks on them to the Society of Antiquaries. In the summer of that year I took the triple inscription with me to Worthing, and there proceeded to examine first the enchorial inscription, and afterwards the sacred characters. By an attentive and methodical comparison of the different parts with each other, I had sufficiently deciphered the whole, in the course of a few months, to be able to send, as an appendix to the paper printed in the *Archæologia*, a translation of each of the Egyptian inscriptions considered separately, distinguishing the contents of the different lines, with as much precision as my materials would enable me to obtain. It is evident that this division of the translation supposes, in general, a distinction of the significations of the single words; and that any person, with a little attention, might retrace my steps, with regard to the sense that I attributed to each part of the two inscriptions. I was obliged to leave many important passages still subject to some doubt, and I hoped to acquire additional information, before I attempted to determine their signification with accuracy; but, having made the first great step, I concluded that many others might be added with facility and with rapidity. In this conclusion, however, I was somewhat mistaken ; and when we reflect that, in the case of the Chinese, the only hieroglyphical language now extant, it is considered as a task requiring the whole labour of a learned life, to become acquainted with the greater part of the words, even among those who are in the habit of employing the same language for the ordinary purposes of life, and who have the assistance of accurate and voluminous grammars and dictionaries : we shall then be at no loss to understand that ■ hieroglyphical language, to

be acquired by means of the precarious aid of a few monuments, which have accidentally escaped the ravages of time and of barbarism, must exhibit a combination of difficulties almost insurmountable to human industry.

" I had thought it necessary, in the pursuit of the inquiry, to make myself in some measure familiar with the remains of the old Egyptian language, as they are preserved in the Coptic and Thebaic versions of the Scriptures; and I had hoped, with the assistance of this knowledge, to be able to find an alphabet which would enable me to read the enchorial inscription at least into a kindred dialect. But, in the progress of the investigation, I had gradually been compelled to abandon this expectation, and to admit the conviction, that no such alphabet would ever be discovered, because it had never been in existence.

" I was led to this conclusion, not only by the untractable nature of the inscription itself, which might have depended on my own want of information or of address, but still more decidedly by the manifest occurrence of a multitude of characters, which were obviously imperfect imitations of the more intelligible pictures that were observable among the distinct hieroglyphics of the first inscription: such as a Priest, a Statue, and a Mattock or Plough, which were evidently, in their primitive state, delineations of the objects intended to be denoted by them, and which were as evidently introduced among the enchorial characters. But whether or no any other significant words were expressed, in the same inscription, by means of the alphabet employed in it for foreign names, I could not very satisfactorily determine.

" A cursory examination of the few well identified characters, amounting to about 90 or 100, which the hieroglyphical inscription, in its mutilated state, had enabled me to ascertain, was however sufficient to prove, first, that many simple objects were represented, as might naturally be supposed, by their actual delineations; secondly, that many other objects, represented graphi-

Colateral studies.

Conclusions deduced from them.

Mixture of signs and symbols.

Established results.

CHAP. XI.

Mode of expressing plurality.

Numerals.

The cartouche.

Priority of Dr. Young.

Further proceedings.

cally, were used in a figurative sense only, while a great number of the symbols, in frequent use, could be considered as the pictures of no existing objects whatever; thirdly, that, in order to express a plurality of objects, a dual was denoted by a repetition of the character, but that three characters of the same kind, following each other, implied an indefinite plurality, which was likewise more compendiously represented by means of three lines or bars attached to a single character; fourthly, that definite numbers were expressed by dashes for units, and arches, either round or square, for tens; fifthly, that all hieroglyphical inscriptions were read from front to rear, as the objects naturally follow each other; sixthly, that proper names were included by the oval ring, or border, or *cartouche*, of the sacred characters, and often between two fragments of a similar border in the running hand; and, seventhly, that the name of Ptolemy alone existed on this pillar, having only been completely identified by the assistance of the analysis of the enchorial inscription. And, as far as I have ever heard or read, *not one* of these particulars had ever been established and placed on record, by *any other* person, dead or alive."

Thus much had Dr. Young accomplished,—unless we deduct the comparatively unimportant exception of the learned Dane Zoega's earlier suggestion of the probable significance of the ovals or cartouches, as indicating proper names,—while Champollion was still maintaining the purely symbolic character of all Egyptian writing.

It is unnecessary to follow out Dr. Young's narrative of the ingenious process of study and induction, by means of which he turned to such valuable account the inscriptions, not only of the Rosetta Stone, but also of the written papyri, containing both Greek and enchorial inscriptions. The following singular and most interesting occurrence in the history of the first discoveries in hieroglyphic literature, is well worthy of note.

Mr., afterwards Sir George Francis Grey, an intelligent CHAP. XI.
traveller, returning from Egypt, in 1822, brought with
him a letter from Sir William Gell to Dr. Young, and
deposited with the latter some of the most valuable
fruits of his explorations amid the ancient relics of
Egyptian art, including several fine specimens of writ-
ing and drawing on papyrus, which he had purchased
from an Arab at Thebes, in 1820. Previous to Dr.
Young's obtaining possession of these, an individual of
the name of Casati arrived at Paris, bringing with him Mr. Grey's
a parcel of Egyptian manuscripts, among which Cham-
pollion observed one which bore in its preamble some
resemblance to the enchorial text on the Rosetta Stone.
This discovery naturally excited much interest; and Dr.
Young having procured a copy of the papyrus, proceeded
to attempt to decipher and translate it. In this he had
already made some progress when the arrival of Mr.
Grey with the new papyri referred to in the following
remarks, threw a new and altogether unexpected light
on his investigations. "Mr. Grey," says Dr. Young, Dr. Young
"had the kindness to leave with me a box, containing obtains a box
several fine specimens of writing and drawing on papy-
rus; they were chiefly in hieroglyphics, and of a mytho-
logical nature; but the two which he had before de-
scribed to me, as particularly deserving attention, and
which were brought, through his judicious precautions,
in excellent preservation, both contained some Greek
characters, written apparently in a pretty legible hand.
He had purchased them of an Arab at Thebes, in Janu-
ary 1820; and that which was most intelligible had
appeared, at first sight, to contain some words relating to
the service of the Christian church. Mr. Grey was so
good as to give me leave to make any use of these manu-
scripts that I pleased; and he readily consented to their
insertion among the lithographic copies of the 'Hiero-
glyphics, collected by the Egyptian Society,' which I
undertook to superintend from time to time, in great
measure for the private use of an association of my own

Mr. Grey's
return from
Egypt.

Egyptian
papyri.

Dr. Young
obtains a box
of papyri.

CHAP. XL.] friends, not sufficiently numerous to insure any permanent stability to its continuance.

Intercourse
with Cham-
pion.

"M. Champollion had done me the favour, while I was at Paris, to copy for me some parts of the very important papyrus, which I have before mentioned as having given him the name of Cleopatra; and of which the discovery was certainly a great event in Egyptian literature, since it was the first time that any intelligible characters, of the enchorial form, had been discovered among the many manuscripts and inscriptions that had been examined, and since it furnished M. Champollion at the same time with a name, which materially advanced, if I understood him rightly, the steps that have led him to his very important extension of the hieroglyphical alphabet. He had mentioned to me, in conversation, the names of Apollonius, 'Antiochus,' and Antigonus, as occurring among the witnesses; and I easily recognized the groups which he had deciphered; although, instead of *Antiochus*, I read *Antimachus*; and I did not recollect at the time that he had omitted the *m.*

Singular co-
incidence of
manuscripts.

"In the evening of the day that Mr. Grey had brought me his manuscripts, I proceeded impatiently to examine that which was in Greek only: and I could scarcely believe that I was awake, and in my sober senses, when I observed, among the names of the witnesses, **ANTIMACHUS ANTIGENIS**: and, a few lines further back, **PORTIS APOLLONII**; although the last word could not have been very easily deciphered, without the assistance of the conjecture, which immediately occurred to me, that this manuscript might perhaps be a translation of the enchorial manuscript of Casati: I found that its beginning was, 'A copy of an Egyptian writing . . .'; and I proceeded to ascertain, that there were the same number of names, intervening between the Greek, and the Egyptian signatures, that I had identified, and that the same number followed the last of them; and the whole number of witnesses appeared to be sixteen in each. The last paragraph in the Greek began with the words, 'Copy of the

Registry ;' for such must be the signification of the word ΠΤΩΜΑΤΟΣ, employed in this papyrus, though it does not appear to occur anywhere else in a similar signification. I could not, therefore, but conclude, that a most extraordinary chance had brought into my possession a document which was not very likely, in the first place, ever to have existed, still less to have been preserved uninjured, for my information, through a period of near two thousand years: but that this very extraordinary translation should have been brought safely to Europe, to England, and to me, at the very moment when it was most of all desirable to me to possess it, as the illustration of an original which I was then studying, but without any other reasonable hope of being able fully to comprehend it; this combination would, in other times, have been considered as affording ample evidence of my having become an Egyptian sorcerer.

M. Champollion had not thought it worth while to give me a transcript of the original Greek endorsement: he seemed to consider it as not fully agreeing with the Egyptian text, or, at any rate, as not materially assisting in its interpretation: perhaps, also, he thought it best for me to try my strength upon the original, without any little assistance that might have been derived from it with respect to two or three of the names: or, as I am more disposed to believe, he was fearful of offending some of his countrymen, by making too public what he had no right to communicate without their leave: for, after an accidental delay of a month, the answer that I received from Paris was only such as to enable me to state that my opinion of the identity of the two endorsements is fully confirmed. I have lost, however, no time in sending to the Conservators of the King's cabinet a copy of my registry; with a request to be favoured with theirs in return, in order that I might have the same advantage from the comparison, which I voluntarily afforded the Parisian critics, without any reserve or delay; and in order that the duplicates may stand side by side in the

CHAP. XL

Dr. Young's conclusions.

Correspondence with Champollion.

CHAP. XI. lithographical copy, which has only waited for their answer, to have a vacant space filled up, and to be sent to them entire. In the mean time, I have only to wish, that the philologists of Paris may do as ample justice to these papyri, as one of the most distinguished of their number, M. Letronne, has lately done to the inscriptions of the Oasis, of which I had made a very hasty translation from a single copy only, not having had the means of comparing it properly with the second.

Liberality of
M. Raoul
Rochette.

" My application for the copy of the Registry has been received with the liberality which was to be expected from the directors of a great institution, and I have to return my best thanks to M. Raoul Rochette, for a correct copy of the whole of this highly-important manuscript, which I am happy to find that it is his intention to publish in a short time. I am most anxious to avoid anticipating him, in the gratification of the public curiosity, with regard to this interesting relic : but as I find that some account of the Registry has already been made public by M. St. Martin, I conceive myself at liberty to make use, at least, of this part of the manuscript ; and I do not imagine that M. Raoul Rochette means to employ himself on the enchorial conveyance.

Contents of
the Greek
manuscript.

" The contents of Mr. Grey's Greek manuscript are of a nature scarcely less remarkable than its preservation and discovery : it relates to the sale, not of a house or a field, but of a portion of the Collections and Offerings made from time to time on account, or for the benefit, of a certain number of MUMMIES, of persons described at length, in very bad Greek, with their children and all their households. The price is not very clearly expressed ; but as the portion sold is only a moiety of a third part of the whole, and as the testimony of sixteen witnesses was thought necessary on the occasion, it is probable that the revenue, thus obtained by the priests, was by no means inconsiderable.

" The result, derived at once from this comparison, is the identification of more than thirty proper names as

they were written in the running hand of the country. It might appear, upon a superficial consideration, that a mere catalogue of proper names would be of little comparative value in assisting us to recover the lost elements of a language. But, in fact, they possess a considerable advantage, in the early stages of such an investigation, from the greater facility and certainty with which they are identified, and from their independence of any grammatical inflexions, at least in the present case; by means of which they lead us immediately to a full understanding of the orthographical system of the language, where any such system can be traced.

"The general inference, to be derived from an examination of the names now discovered, is somewhat more in favour of an extensive employment of an alphabetical mode of writing, than any that could have been deduced from the pillar of Rosetta, which exhibits, indeed, only foreign names, and affords us therefore little or no information respecting the mode of writing the original Egyptian names of the inhabitants."

The reader can hardly fail to appreciate the value of this singular discovery. Yet remarkable as the chance appears which thus placed this Greek autograph in the hands of almost the only man in England capable of turning it to good account, it was by no means a solitary example of an Egyptian legal document. From the same invaluable stores, secured by the enterprise and diligence of Mr. Gray, Dr. Young procured various Egyptian conveyances in the enchorial character, with separate registries on the margin in legible Greek. By means of these, many additional examples of enchorial proper names were obtained. But their value must by no means be limited to this. Historians and archæologists have been engaged for years past, diligently recovering from every dusty charter chest and neglected record office the chartularies of the middle ages, and rejoicing, as over discovered treasures, when they were so fortunate as to light on a parchment bearing date in the eleventh or twelfth

Value of the
discovery.Additional
contributions
to knowledge.Their compa-
rative value.

CHAP. XI. century. But here were documents relating to the sale of lands in the neighbourhood of Thebes, more than a thousand years prior to that date which British historians are content to look upon as almost the remotest era of definite written records.

Champollion's letter to M. Dacier.

In 1822, the year following Champollion's publication of his work "On the Hieratic Writing of the Ancient Egyptians," he issued from the Parisian press a letter addressed to M. Dacier, the secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, "relative to the alphabet of phonetic hieroglyphics used by the Egyptians in inscribing on their monuments the titles, the names, and the surnames, of Greek and Roman sovereigns." In this publication he retracted his former statements, and argued in favour of the alphabetic use of hieroglyphic symbols, which Dr. Young had demonstrated two years earlier. In a later work he went further, and in defiance of the distinctly expressed opinions introduced in his preface "De l' Ecriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens" of 1821, he claims to have discovered contemporaneously with Dr. Young, the phonetic character of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the definite value of certain of their symbols.

Regrets excited by the controversy.

It is deeply to be regretted that this interesting and most important study should thus have been impeded at its outset by personal discussions and national jealousies. It is impossible for the impartial investigator to question for a moment that the initiatory steps on which all the later discoveries in hierology are based must be ascribed to Dr. Young, and to him alone. But M. Champollion's conduct is the more to be regretted, since he has a right to all the merit of many most important discoveries by which these earliest disclosures have been turned to account, and might well spare to the English scholar the honour of such contributions as he was able to make to the study of Egyptian hieroglyphics, in the rare moments he could snatch from the engrossing calls of less congenial occupations.

It is not easy for the ordinary reader to conceive of the immense difficulties which surround the investigator into the mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, though it can hardly fail to impress him with some sense of this when he considers that nearly twenty years elapsed, during which copies of the Rosetta inscription were placed in the hands of nearly all the most distinguished scholars of Europe, before even the question of phonetic usage was settled, or the value of a very few of the hieroglyphic characters established. The following popular summary of these difficulties, introduced by Miss Martineau in her "Eastern Life, Present and Past," will convey to the general reader some idea of the obstacles which have to be surmounted in this attractive but most laborious investigation :—“One of the most interesting inquiries to us is about the language of these people. To form any idea of the labours of modern interpreters of the monuments, we must remember that they have not only to read the perfectly singular cipher of these writers on stone, but to find their very language. Of course, the only hope is in the study of the Coptic ; and the Coptic became almost a dead language in the twelfth century of our era, and entirely so in the seventeenth, after having been for ages corrupted by the admixture of foreign terms, going on at the same time with the loss of old native ones. Egypt never had any permanent colonies in which her language might be preserved during the ages when one foreign power after another took possession of her valley, and rendered the language of her people compound and corrupt. Without repeating here the long and well-known story of the progress of discovery of the ancient language, it is enough to give the results thus far attained.

Popular
summary.The Coptic
language.

“The key not only to the cipher, but to the language, was afforded by the discovery of the same inscription written, as the inscription itself declared, in three languages—the Greek, the Enchorial or ordinary Egyptian writing, and the old sacred character. The most ancient

Key to the
cipher.

CHAP. XI
Presumed relation of Coptic to the ancient Egyptian.

Ignorance of its grammatical construction.

Bunsen's Egyptian lexicon.

Prospects of further discovery.

was found to bear a close relation to the Coptic, as then known : a relation probably, as has been observed by a recent writer, 'similar to that which the Latin does to the Italian, the Zend to the modern Persian, or the Sanscrit to many of the vernacular dialects now spoken in India.' This key was applied with wonderful sagacity and ingenuity by Champollion the younger, who proceeded a good deal further than reading the names and titles of the kings and their officers. He ventured upon introducing or deciphering (whichever it may be called) many words not to be found in the later Coptic, except in their supposed roots, nor, of course, anywhere else. The great difficulty is that, the language having, by lapse of ages, lost its original power of grammatical inflexion, a quality which it seems scarcely possible to restore, the relations of ideas in ■ sentence, which in the more modern Coptic are expressed by auxiliary terms, must be disposed by conjecture, or by doubtful internal comparison and analogy. It is easy to see how thus, while names and titles, and all declaratory terms may be read, when once the alphabet is secured, all beyond must be in a high degree conjectural, at least till the stock of terms is largely increased. The stock is on the increase, however. Champollion made a noble beginning : Dr. Lepsius has corrected him in some important instances ; and the Chevalier Bunsen has offered a Lexicon of the old Egyptian language, placing above four hundred words in comparison with the known Coptic. This is a supply which will go ■ good way in reading the legends on the monuments ; by which process, again, we may be helped to more. The very singular nature of the alphabet being once understood, and the beginning of a Lexicon being supplied, there seems reason to hope that the process of discovery may be carried on by the application of one fresh mind after another to the task which all must see to be as important as any which can occupy the human faculties. Or, if all do not see this, it must be from insufficient knowledge of the facts :

insufficient knowledge of the amount of the records, of CHAP. XI
 their antiquity, and of their general nature. When the
 traveller gazes at vast buildings covered over in every part with writing ; every architrave, every abacus, every recess, and every projection, all the lines of the cornice, and all the intervals of the sculptures, he is overwhelmed with the sense of the immensity of knowledge locked up from him before his eyes. Let those at home imagine the ecclesiastical history of Christendom written up thus on every inch of the surface of its cathedrals, and the civil history of any country, from its earliest times, thus engraved on all its public buildings and palaces, and he may form some conception of what it would be, in regard to mere amount, to be able to read the inscriptions in Egypt. If he is also aware that the religion, philosophy, and science of the world for many thousand years, a religion, philosophy, and science, which reveal a greater nobleness, depth, and extent, the more they are explored, are recorded there, under our very eyes and hands, he will see that no nobler task awaits any lover of truth and of his race, than that of enabling mankind to read these earliest volumes of its own history.

Tempting nature of the study.

Important disclosures anticipated.

“ And the world has no other resource in regard to this object. There is no doubt about the ancient Egyptians having had an extensive written literature ; but it is lost. It was shelved when the Greek language and literature became the fashion in Egypt ; and previous circumstances had been unfavourable to the preservation of the rolls of goat and sheep skins, and the subsequent papyri, which contained the best thoughts of the best men of five or six thousand years ago. We may mourn over this ;—we must mourn, for it is certain that they knew things that we are yet ignorant of, and that they could do things which we can only wonder at ;—but the records are lost, and no man can help it now.”

Exclusive depository of this knowledge.

The talented authoress of “ Eastern Life,” inclines to adopt a more favourable estimate of the religion and philosophy of ancient Egypt than many will approve of.

Estimate of Egyptian religion.

CHAP. XI.

Priority in
arts and
science.Superficial
attractiveness
of its
mythology.Grossness of
its mytho-
logy.Merits of
Champollion.

The progress which that wonderful people had made in arts and science, while yet the nations of Europe existed only in the scattered nomades that chance or necessity drove from their eastern homes, renders their history a subject of the deepest interest to us. It cannot be questioned that the Greeks derived from them the rudiments of their noblest arts,—of their geometry, of their poetical mythology, and even of their refined philosophy. To the great mass of the people, however, the theology of Egypt must have proved, like every other system of idolatry, a vain and degrading superstition. It is easy for the intelligent scholar to perceive poetry and beauty in the Egyptian depictions of the final judgment of the dead, the recording Deity, the presiding Osiris, the awful balance, and the soul weighed with its deeds against the divine standard of right. All this seems the embodiment of a noble though imperfect conception of human responsibility and final retribution. But how vain must its practical efficacy have been when cumbered with all the endless complications of the Egyptian Pantheon ;—ram-headed, snake-headed, cat-headed, and crocodile-headed gods,—spirits of good and of evil of the grossest and most contradictory kinds ! Doubtless a vast amount of knowledge, well worthy of the utmost labour to recover, was familiar to the old priesthood of Egypt, and, in part at least, awaits the disclosures of the students of hieroglyphics. But the momentous truths of religion rest on a surer basis, and we may be well content to believe that no researches amid the graven records in the valley of the Nile, will change the aspect of that “life and immortality” which is brought to light in the gospel.

It will be seen that the intelligent author of “Eastern Life” assigns to Champollion that “noble beginning,” on which Lepsius, Bunsen, Wilkinson, and other students of hieroglyphic literature have founded their whole discoveries ; and though it cannot admit of doubt that Champollion’s discoveries were subsequent to, if not entirely founded upon those of Dr. Thomas Young, yet no inves-

tigator of the history of hierology will hesitate to assign CHAP. XI.
to the French scholar the honour of having done more Extent of his
than any single individual of his own day towards fur- labours.
nishing the materials on which later scholars have pro-
ceeded in deciphering the long-hidden registers of Egypt.
It is all the more to be regretted that one capable of
doing so much for the cause of truth, and possessing such
just claims to a distinguished place among the first recov-
erers of the long-hidden lore of Egypt, should have
exposed himself to the charge of "disingenuousness and
want of fairness," if not indeed to still more dishonoura-
ble imputations, in reference to the garbled translation
of an article in the Edinburgh Review on hieroglyphic
literature, wherein justice is done to the claims of Dr.
Young to priority of discovery.

It is indeed a question of comparative insignificance, Comparative
in its direct bearing on hieroglyphic literature, to whom importance
the just claim of priority of discovery shall be conceded, of the ques-
but it can never be a matter unworthy of careful investi-
gation to apportion to the discoverer the sole reward
wherein generally consists the return for his labours,
that of acknowledgment and gratitude to him as one of
the benefactors of his race. But the question of rival
priority was started by M. Champollion, and the contro-
versy kept alive chiefly by his pertinacity, so that it is
no longer possible to review the early history of hierology
without considering the personal questions thus inter-
mingled with the great discovery with which his name is
associated. His merits in advancing the progress of this
valuable disclosure are thus concisely and fairly stated:
—“M. Champollion appears to have commenced his hiero-
glyphical studies by a very close examination of the
well-known remarkable text of Clemens, and to have
imbibed from it a strong conviction that phonetic signs
entered as an integral element into the system of writ-
ing in use among the ancient Egyptians. Indeed, the
right interpretation of the passage in question inevitably
led to this conclusion; which, in its turn, evidently led Fair state-
ment of the
controversy.

CHAP. XI

Anticipated
value of a
phonetic
alphabet.

Facilities
supplied by
Dr. Young.

Requisites
for further
success.

Very partial
aid of the
Rosetta
Inscription.

to another, namely, that if an alphabet of phonetic characters could be constructed, it would probably furnish a key to hieroglyphic writing in general, and produce new and unexpected results of the utmost importance to history. This, accordingly, was the principle upon which M. Champollion proceeded; and he is entitled to the undivided merit of having foreseen the consequences to which it might ultimately lead.

"The first and great point therefore, was, if possible, to obtain such an alphabet; and to this M. Champollion directed his attention. But the task which he had to perform was comparatively an easy one: for Dr. Young, as we have already seen, had not only demonstrated the practicability of constructing such an alphabet, but, by an analysis of the names *Ptolemy*, *Berenice*, and others, had assigned phonetic values to *nine* distinct characters, a considerable portion of which have since been found to be correct. *Facile est inventis addere.* The first great step had been made; and it only required perseverance and *good fortune* to ensure success. We say *good fortune*; because Dr. Young had already done almost all that was possible with his materials. If the hieroglyphic inscription of Rosetta had come to Europe entire, a tolerably complete alphabet of phonetic hieroglyphics would, in all probability, have been formed, before M. Champollion was heard of as a labourer in this interesting field of inquiry. But, unfortunately, the Stone contains only the last fourteen lines of the hieroglyphic text, and these much mutilated; while the hieroglyphic name of *Ptolemy*, enclosed in an oval or elliptical ring, is the only one of all those mentioned in the Greek text which has escaped total destruction. This name is represented by eight hieroglyphic characters, one of them (the feather) being repeated; and as the Greek name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ consists of *ten* letters, it was of course impossible, without further materials, to fix, with absolute certainty, the relation between the seven or eight hieroglyphic signs and the ten Greek letters. But the

discovery of a new monument (and in this consisted M. Champollion's good fortune) at length removed all uncertainty in this respect, and led directly and easily to the formation of the alphabet required.

“‘The hieroglyphic text of the inscription of Rosetta,’ says M. Champollion (“*Lettre à M. Dacier*,”) ‘exhibited, on account of its fractures, only the name of Ptolemy. *The obelisk found in the Isle of Philae, and lately removed to London*, contains also the hieroglyphic name of one of the Ptolemies, expressed by the same characters that occur in the inscription of Rosetta, surrounded by a ring or border; and it is followed by a second border, which must necessarily contain the proper name of a woman, and of a queen of the family of the Lagidae, since the group is terminated by the hieroglyphics expressive of the *feminine* gender; characters which are found at the end of the names of all the Egyptian goddesses without exception. The obelisk was fixed, it is said, to a basis bearing a Greek inscription, which is a petition of the priests of Isis at Philae, addressed to King Ptolemy, to *Cleopatra* his sister, and to *Cleopatra* his wife. Now, if this obelisk, and the hieroglyphical inscription engraved on it, were the result of this petition, which in fact adverts to the consecration of a monument of the kind, the border, with the feminine proper name, can only be that of one of the *Cleopatras*. This name and that of Ptolemy, which in the Greek have several letters in common, were capable of being employed for a comparison of the hieroglyphical characters composing them; and if the similar characters in these names expressed in both the same sounds, it followed that their nature must be entirely phonetic.’”

Such a comparison was instituted with great diligence and ingenuity, and with the happiest results, though it must not be overlooked that Dr. Young's previous analysis of the name of Ptolemy on the Rosetta inscription had rendered any similar investigations comparatively simple. Champollion, however, was unwilling to divide

Coincident occurrence of hieroglyphics.

Explanatory Greek Inscription.

Aids to a correct analysis.

CHAP. XI. the honours of such a discovery; and it was in an attempt to set aside the candid intercession of the critic, already referred to, in the Edinburgh Review, that he appears most seriously to have sullied the integrity of his literary reputation.

Nature of the discoveries.

From that article we extract the following significant elucidation of the nature of these discoveries, the claims to which led to such acrimonious controversy, all the more violent perhaps that it assumed somewhat the character of national rivalry on points already rendered unpalatable to the French nation by the triumph of British arms on the banks of the Nile. It would be unjust, however, to overlook the fact that there were not wanting intelligent Frenchmen who preferred truth to victory, and upheld the equality of the Republic of Letters. "Before proceeding," says the Northern critic, "to detail the very curious and interesting discoveries which have succeeded to the reveries of Kircher and his school, it may be of use to premise a very short and general explanation of their import and result—as these are understood or alleged by the discoverers themselves. The sum of the whole then is, that a large proportion of the hieroglyphics, over which the intellect of Europe has been puzzling for centuries, were used, not to represent *things* or ideas at all, but merely to represent sounds, or words—that many of the figures, in short, were substantially phonetic, or alphabetical—and that their significance in this way, arose from their exhibiting things or objects, the common names or appellations of which, in the spoken language of the country, began with the sounds which it was wished to express. This mode of employing hieroglyphical or picture-writing is supposed to have been first suggested by the difficulty of otherwise expressing Proper Names, and especially *foreign* names, which had no intrinsic significance to strangers; and accordingly, it was Dr. Young's original, though erroneous opinion, that it was in those cases only that it was employed."

Summary.

Erroneous limits assigned to phonetic hieroglyphics.

"A familiar example will make this, and indeed the whole scope of the discovery, more immediately intelligible than pages of mere explanation. Suppose the *spoken* language of England to be what it is—but that no other sort of *writing*, except by pictures or symbols, had yet been invented—and that it was wanted to record, in some legend or inscription, that an individual called JAMES had done or suffered something. The word James here was evidently a mere sound—and could not be described or defined in any other way, than as that sound by which the individual in question was suggested to those who heard it. It could not therefore be directly intimated to posterity, by a mere *visible* symbol or picture, that such a sound had in his day been associated with that individual; and if this was what was proposed to be done, it is plain enough that *some* new device or contrivance must of necessity be adopted; and according to the late discoveries, the device was as follows. They set down a series of pictures of familiar objects, the names of which, in the spoken language, began with the sounds which were successively to be expressed, and which, taken together in that order, made up the compound sound or Name that was wanted. For the sound now expressed by the letter J, for example, they would set down the figure of a Jug or Jar—for that corresponding to A, an Ape or Acorn—for M, a Man or a Mouse—and for S, a Spear or Spur—and thus, by a sort of *Symbolical Acrostic*, they would spell out the word James, and intimate to all who read the figures into the spoken tongue, the name or sound which it was intended to commemorate. If this was generally known to be the way of representing such sounds—and if the painter or sculptor gave an intelligible warning accordingly, *when* his figures were so to be deciphered or applied, it is plain that the device would be very tolerably successful, and that the object would be attained with considerable ease and precision. It is very remarkable, accordingly, that all the groups of figures which are found to represent proper

Chap. XL
Familiar illustration.

Necessity for phonetic use

Example.

CHAP. XI. names with their appropriate titles of honour, are insulated and set apart in the hieroglyphic sculptures, by being surrounded by an oval ring or cartouche, of an appropriate and invariable form."

Basis of later discoveries.

These are but the rudiments of hieroglyphic learning when compared with what has since been achieved. They form, however, the basis of the whole, and amply justify the opinion pronounced on the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, in which Dr. Young afterwards embodied the system of hieroglyphic interpretation which he had disclosed, that "that article is the greatest effort of scholarship and ingenuity of which modern literature can boast." To those whose taste and acquirements fit them for pursuing this subject through all its intricate ramifications, few investigations can prove more interesting. The above, however, will probably satisfy the general reader, and suffice to convey to him some idea of the ingenious process of reasoning by means of which we have at length been enabled to master secrets which had puzzled the most learned men of Europe and Asia for upwards of a thousand years.

Comparative ease of further progress.

The key to hieroglyphic literature once discovered, and fitted to the intricate wards of the lock, the long-hidden treasures were no longer to lie inert. By the united labours of its indefatigable students, a hieroglyphic alphabet was gradually formed, which answered to all the inscriptions of the Egyptian monuments. By the interpretation of the three proper names, Ptolemy, Cleopatra, and Berenice, two of which we owe to Dr. Young's original demonstration, while the third is due to the ingenuity of M. Champollion, we are put in possession of fourteen distinct characters, representing as many sounds, forming a most important contribution towards the phonetic-hieroglyphic alphabet, and which it became thenceforth easy to verify and extend. Towards this important object some of the most learned men of Europe have lent their hearty and willing aid, and such is the certainty that has now been attained by these united researches,

Basis of a hieroglyphic alphabet.

that during the past year a font of hieroglyphic types CHAP. XL
 has been cut at Paris, by means of which it will now be
 as easy to multiply the ancient records of the Pharaohs,
 as to throw off the most common modern hand-bill. It
 is impossible to reflect on these remarkable results which
 have been entirely brought about within our own day,
 without mingled feelings of wonder and admiration at
 the fortunate coincidences by means of which the pro-
 blem of so many centuries has at length been mastered.
 "It is well known," says the reviewer, to whom we have
 already referred, "that a commission of the French In-
 stitute was sent out to Egypt during the occupation of
 that country by their forces, for the purpose of investi-
 gating everything that related to its ancient history; and
 that the greatest interest was taken in the proceedings of
 this body by no less a person than Napoleon himself.
 Under their auspices much was done, undoubtedly, for
 the elucidation of its antiquities, and the progress of its
 arts; but as to its language and letters, its hieroglyphics
 and papyri, absolutely nothing. They had not time per-
 haps—perhaps they had not means. The fact, however,
 is certain: and it is no doubt a little mortifying to them,
 and indeed to the pride of human skill and learning in
 general, that *an accident*, which occurred in the course
 of their military labours, did more for the elucidation of
 these interesting subjects, than all the study which had
 been bestowed on them for upwards of a thousand years."
 This accident, we need hardly add, was the discovery
 at Rosetta, already referred to, and which, insignificant
 as it must have appeared to those employed in its exhu-
 mation, has so largely affected the whole course of his-
 torical and philological research in the present cen-
 tury. The probable value of its trilingual inscription
 was speedily perceived; and now, after the lapse of up-
 wards of half a century, we are still engaged in fol-
 lowing out the clue which it supplied.

Not only do we learn from the Greek inscription on
 this celebrated tablet, that the decree which it contains

Font of
 hieroglyphic
 types.

Imperfect
 results of
 the French
 commission.

Fortunate
 accident.

Probable
discovery of
duplicates of
the Rosetta
inscription.

CHAP XI. in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes had been ordered to be engraved in the three different characters which still appear upon it, but also that similar tablets were commanded to be set up in other temples. Nothing therefore is more probable than that under the barbarous sway of Arab and Turkish rulers, other Rosetta stones may have, by unhappy *accident*, been discovered ; perfect too, it may be, in those points where the mutilations of that found at the mouth of the Nile, so greatly impaired its value as a key to the mysteries of hieroglyphic literature. If so, such precious relics were doubtless cast aside as useless lumber, or broken up, like so many others of the venerable monuments of Egyptian learning and art, to be converted into building materials by their barbarous successors. We may still, however, indulge the hope that another and more perfect copy of the triple decree of Ptolemy Epiphanes may be discovered, or that some other, and perhaps still more valuable example may be found, of the same adaptation of the decrees of the Greek conquerors to the language and literature of the native Egyptians.

Unexpected
results of
human
schemes.

It is singular to reflect on the unexpected results which so frequently flow from the best laid schemes of men. Even now, after Napoleon has so long slumbered in his grave, and successive revolutions have wrought such marvellous changes on the empire which he founded on the ruins of prescriptive and legitimate sovereignty, we are hardly able to fathom the depth or compass of the ambitious projects which he had in view in the conquest of Egypt. Whatever they were, however, it is a curious commentary on the short-sightedness of man in his most profound projects, that the chance discovery of the French in the trench of Fort St. Julian, at Rosetta, has probably been productive of more valuable fruits to France and to Europe, than the accomplishment of the vastest projects dictated by the genius and ambition of Napoleon could have effected.

CHAPTER XII.

Biblical Illustrations from Egyptian Antiquities.

New system of Chronology—Imperfections and disagreements of old systems—Contemporaneous discoveries—Value of such coincidence—The Septuagint and its Chronology—Israel in Egypt—Change of Dynasty—The Exodus—Comparison of Egyptian and Hebrew Manners and Language—Canaan—Privileges of Edom and Egypt—Illustrations of the Song of Solomon—The Urim and Thummim—Illustrations from the potter's art—Symbol of Creation—The Judgment Scene—The Balance—Transmigration—Egyptian Mythology.

THERE is no aspect in which we view the antiquities of Egypt with deeper interest than in relation to the Mosaic history, and the sacred chronicles of the ancient Jewish kingdom. They are the only records which we possess contemporaneous with the inspired history of the world's childhood and youth, unless we except the marvellous discoveries so recently brought to light, amid the desolation of the Assyrian plains. But we have not yet learned to associate Nineveh and Babylon with the era of Nimrod, and the dispersion of the human race. While we regard Egypt as the earliest region which the Jewish patriarch visited, and whither his descendants withdrew to sojourn, until the iniquity of the Amorites was full, and the time for taking possession of the promised land was come, we think of Babylon and Nineveh rather as

CHAP. XII.

Most interesting aspect
of Egyptian antiquities.

CHAP. XII. associated with the first great national reverse of Judah, and with the inspired missions of her later prophets. The antiquities of both, however, are full of the liveliest interest in their bearing on the sacred history, to which they are found to furnish the most remarkable confirmation.

Historic chronology.

Necessity for revision of opinions.

Date of the creation of man.

The very first point, however, on which we stumble in doubt is the revised chronology which we are forced to accept as one of the most important of all the results heretofore derived from the deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphics. We find that if we are to accept of these labours as of the slightest value or trust-worthiness, we must greatly modify our previous ideas of the age of the world, and of the intervening periods occurring between some of its most remarkable epochs. "For our first glimpse into ancient Egyptian life," says the author of "Eastern Life," "we must go back upon the track of Time far further than we have been accustomed to suppose that track to extend. People who had believed all their lives that the globe and Man were created together, were startled when the new science of geology revealed to them the great fact that Man is a comparatively new creation on the earth, whose oceans and swamps and jungles were aforetime inhabited by monsters never seen by human eye but in their fossil remains. People who enter Egypt with the belief that the human race has existed only six thousand years, and that at that date, the world was uninhabited by men, except within a small circuit in Asia, must undergo a somewhat similar revolution of ideas. All new research operates to remove further back the date of the formation of the Egyptian empire. The differences between the dates given by legendary records and by modern research (with the help of contemporary history) are very great: but the one agrees as little as the other with the popular notion that the human race is only six thousand years old."

We are apt, at first, to stumble at such a challenge of long received opinions, as though it involved a heresy

irreconcilable with the records of sacred history. A very slight investigation, however, suffices to show that we are under no such obligation to accept the ordinarily received chronology, which is commonly appended to the English Bible. Such an investigation is in every way necessary, in order to appreciate the true value of the results of recent discoveries in hieroglyphical literature, and to understand their practical application ; nor need the devout student of the sacred record fear lest the progress of researches in Egyptian antiquities should in any degree endanger the stability of popular faith in the divine origin of the Scriptures. Sceptical philosophers have indeed sought to convert many discoveries of science to such baneful uses, but the result has never failed to show that no truth of nature, or fact of history, when rightly understood, is irreconcilable with the older truths of revelation.

CHAP. XII.
Unauthenticated chronology.

Truth of the
Scriptures.

Commonly
received
chronology.

According to the chronology attached to the authorized version of the English Bible, the creation of the world took place B.C. 4004, or in other words, the world in this year, 1852, is exactly 5856 years old. When, however, we turn to the chronological investigations which have been based on the study of Egyptian antiquities, we find Bunsen fixing the era of Menes, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, 3643 years before Christ, while Henry, in his recent work entitled "L'Egypte Pharaonique," carries it back some sixteen hundred years farther into the past ; and Böckh, following out the imperfect records of Manetho, fixes the age of the first Pharaoh in the year B.C. 5702. Such data, implying a remarkable discrepancy between the indications of modern science and the ordinarily received chronology, compel us to investigate the basis upon which it rests, or to inquire by what arguments such discrepancies shall be reconciled. It is not without deep study and research that such opinions have been arrived at, nor must it be overlooked that the study of hieroglyphic literature is no longer a vague and indefinite system,

New systems.

CHAP. XII.
Evidences of
the know-
ledge of
hierogly-
phics.

subject to all the mutations that fancy or mysticism may involve. Men of different countries and entirely without intercourse or knowledge of each others' studies, have arrived at the same readings of hieroglyphical inscriptions. In 1825, Mr. Henry Salt published his "Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics; with some additional discoveries, by which it may be applied to decipher the names of the Ancient Kings of Egypt and Ethiopia." Mr. Salt's name must be familiar to every reader in connection with Egyptian antiquities. He filled for many years the important office of British consul-general in Egypt, and during his long residence there he gratified his taste by accumulating a most valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities, part of which is now preserved in the British Museum, while many valuable relics from the same source are now scattered through public and private museums both in England and on the continent. In his essay, after referring to the celebrated genealogical table of Abydos, first discovered by Mr. W. J. Bankes in 1818, and to various other interesting inscriptions, Mr. Salt remarks:—"With the assistance of the figures and hieroglyphical designations of the different deities, I have been enabled to decipher the following names of the ancient kings, or Pharaohs of Egypt, which I offer to the consideration of my fellow-labourers. I have arranged them in chronological order, and formed them into a sort of table, giving first the names of the kings as drawn chiefly from the list of Manetho, and opposite each, in Greek letters, the mode in which it is expressed in the phonetic characters."

List of kings
and queens.

Then follows a list of sixteen kings, with their phonetic expression, to which he has added those of seven queens, as found on single ovals, accompanying their representations on the walls of temples.

Mr. Salt then remarks:—"Returning to the names of the kings, I may remark that one of the most interesting is that of Rameses Thothmosis, who was nearly cotempo-

rary, as the best chronologists agree, with Moses. The fine temple of Amada in Nubia, the granite tablet before the Sphinx, the granite sanctuary at Karnak, a small granite propylon under the mountain at Gournoo, the obelisk at Alexandria, and other noble remains, attest the splendour of his reign; and it is certainly curious to observe that there is not the trace of any monument remaining throughout Egypt or Nubia of earlier date.

CHAP. XII.
Works of
Rameses
Thothmosis.

"The next of consequence which I consider clearly established, are those of Rameses me Amun, or Amun me Ramesis, and his son Amenoph, called erroneously by the Romans, Memnon. The greater part of the older monuments existing are constructed by these two sovereigns, and the tombs at Biban 'l Moluk seem to have been exclusively possessed by their family. The period in which they reigned seems to have formed the brightest period of the Egyptian monarchy. How highly the character of Amenoph was estimated at Thebes will appear by a large quarter of the city being designated after his name, and by his having been ranked, as several inscriptions testify, among even the greater gods. It is worthy of remark, that all the temples bearing the names of these kings, as well as those of Rameses Thothmosis, carry in their appearance most convincing proof of their antiquity, evincing a style of architecture that was at once highly finished, grand, and characteristic. The remains of Ipsambul Karnak, Medinet Haboo, and the Memnonium, are glorious examples of the perfection to which Egyptian architecture had then attained, which flourished, as far as I can trace, to the reign of Psammitichus, but which may probably have continued up to the reign of Amasis and the destructive invasion of the Persians. Among the most characteristic ornaments of these most ancient edifices are the fine battle scenes pourtrayed on their walls, in which there is a freedom of hand, and boldness of design, that give us no contemptible idea of their progress in sculpture. No drawing has been yet published in Europe that can give any just

Rameses
me Amun.

Best exam-
ples of Egyp-
tian architec-
ture.

CHAP. XII. notion of their merit. I do not in any way mean to compare Greek and Egyptian art; but I am myself convinced that Greece first received the arts from Egypt, probably about the time of the Persian invasion, when the best of the workmen fled, or were carried from their country; and the Egyptian art had just that kind of merit which was well calculated to form a good style in the hands of men of superior talents like the Greeks, unfettered by the trammels of forms unalterably conventional."

*Application
of the pho-
netic system
to all periods.*

Mr. Salt then adds—"I shall here conclude for the present with an opinion, that the fact being now clearly established that phonetic hieroglyphics were in use in the earlier period of the Egyptian monarchy, their application will not be found to be confined to the names of gods, kings, or places. Two demonstrative articles, 'ta,' 'pa,' masculine and feminine, 'en,' the sign expressing 'of,' and 'mi,' signifying 'appertaining to,' or 'beloved,' have already been discovered; and I do not hesitate to say that, with a complete knowledge of Coptic, and close application to this study in Egypt, a person might be able in no long time to decipher whole inscriptions. Every where, I conceive, the real hieroglyphics and phonetic characters will be found to be mingled together, as in the rings of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors; and this of course will require a double study, in which any great progress can only be the result of extreme patience and labour. For myself, to have established beyond all doubt in the phonetic characters the names of Thothmosis, Amenoth, Psammitichus, Sabaco, and that of Tirhakah, a king of Ethiopia coeval with Isaiah the prophet, and mentioned by him, is, I must own, a circumstance that consoles me at least for many hours, I may say days, occupied in these studies; and may serve perhaps as a hint to future travellers, to show that there can be rarely any thing in the shape of an ancient record unworthy of their attention, since, though at the moment of copying unknown characters

*Combined
symbolic and
phonetic
system.*

and mutilated inscriptions, it seems to be a very hopeless CHAP. XII.
and unpromising undertaking, there is no knowing to
what important consequences it may ultimately lead."

This essay was written and prepared for publication in Egypt; but in a postscript, dated Alexandria, 7th August 1824, the author states that he has been almost deterred from its publication upon obtaining sight of a work recently issued from the press by M. Champollion, by finding that he had been forestalled in a number of names of Egyptian gods and kings discovered by him; and he adds,—“Though the publication of M. Champollion’s last work is in 1824, (I do not know the month,) it is not improbable that his catalogue of kings may have been made out some time before; so that he in all likelihood may have the honour of prior discovery, as of publication. It cannot, however, but be gratifying to him, as it has been to me, to find his ideas thus confirmed by the singular coincidence of two persons in such distant parts of the globe, without the slightest communication between them, coming by different modes of deduction to the same conclusions on so unpromising and intricate a subject; a circumstance that seems to me to afford the surest proof of the solidity of the basis on which our premises are founded—his phonetic alphabet; the correctness of which becomes thereby, I conceive, most decisively established, and it is this in great measure which has determined me to persist in the publication.”

Such, indeed, is the legitimate inference from such a coincidence; and when the student of Egyptian literature finds that, by use of the phonetic signs to which Young, Champollion, and others, have affixed their values, men in England, France, Prussia, Rome, and Egypt, all arrive, without knowledge of each other’s studies, at the same conclusions, it can no longer be possible to entertain a doubt that the key of the Egyptian mysteries has been found.

Availing themselves, then, of this new element of

Concurrent discoveries of
M. Champollion and Mr.
Salt.

Value of such coincidence.

Universal
recognition
of the phon-
etic alphabet.

CHAP. XII. knowledge, not only the names of the Egyptian kings, but the records of contemporaneous events, and of known historic incidents, have been recovered. By this means many important and indisputable historical points have been established; and travelling back from these, by means both of defined durations of several earlier reigns, and the average estimate of others, a tolerably satisfactory approximation has already been made to a new system of primeval chronology. The great disparity which exists between the assigned era of Menes, according to Bunsen, Henry, and Böckh, sufficiently shows that much has yet to be done before their systems can be harmonized into a well defined and accepted plan of historic chronology. Yet, if they are to be esteemed as approximations to the truth, they manifestly point to an era of the Mosaic creation much more remote than that which has been generally and almost implicitly received by Biblical critics and historians for upwards of two centuries. It is to be noted that the era to which these prolonged periods refer is not that of the Mosaic creation, but of Menes, the first Egyptian Pharaoh. They indicate therefore not only an age subsequent to the Mosaic deluge, but a period when civilization had made great progress, and the arts were practised on that gigantic scale which characterize nearly all the ancient monuments of the Nile-valley.

History of received chronology.

When we turn to the examination of the received chronology, which appears so irreconcilable with these investigations of modern hierologists, much of our difficulty vanishes. The chronology attached to the English Bibles dates no further back for its origin than Charles I.'s reign. It originated in the computations of Archbishop Usher, and has been further accredited by the concurrence of Lloyd and Calmet. But so far has it been from universal reception, that Gliddon has furnished in his "Ancient Egypt" a table of diversity of chronological computations, in which there appears, altogether independent of the more recent variations of hieroglyphical

Archbishop Usher.

Discoveries by its means.

Different chronological reckonings.

Era of Menes.

chronologists, twenty-nine different eras assigned for the creation, various of which have either been calculated or adopted by some of the most eminent Christian divines. The oldest date assigned to the creation of the world is that of the Septuagint computation, while the chronological calculations of Melancthon, Luther, and Scaliger, though differing, have been calculated on the same general data, and the smallest of them leaves a difference of 1636 years from that of the Septuagint. Most readers must be familiar with the name, if not with the exact history, of the Septuagint version of the Holy Scriptures. Its origin is thus incidentally alluded to by the author of "Eastern Life :—" "One event which happened in the reign of the second Ptolemy we must just refer to, as it is connected with the chronological questions which make up so much of the interest of the history of Egypt. The Jews then in Egypt were emancipated by this Ptolemy ; and they employed their influence with him in obtaining, by his countenance, a good Greek translation of their Scriptures. By communication with the High Priest at Jerusalem, there came about an appointment of seventy qualified men who translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and presented the world with the version called the Septuagint. The chronology of this work differs widely from that given by the Samaritan and Hebrew versions ; the Septuagint assigning between Adam and Abraham, nearly 1400 years more than the Hebrew ; and so on. For a long course of time, the learned and religious world believed that the discrepancy between the Septuagint and (so-called) Mosaic histories was ascribable to forgery on the part of the Alexandrian Jews. But now that chronological evidence is flowing in from other sources, the judgment of biblical scholars is becoming favourable to the Septuagint computation. Of course, it becomes at the same time more accordant with the recorded history of Egypt."

It is not necessary here to investigate more minutely this interesting question of historic and biblical chrono-

CHAP. XII.
Great diversity of calculations.

History of the Septuagint.

The Seventy
The Septua-
gint chrono-
logy.

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Reconcile-
ment of
Revelation
with recent
discoveries.

logy. It is sufficient at present to show that the discoveries in hieroglyphic literature, in so far as they induce the belief that a much greater time must have elapsed between the era of the deluge and the birth of Christ, and also, most probably, between the era of creation and the deluge, than those we have been accustomed to assign, in no way interfere with the truths of Revelation. The great discrepancies still apparent in the calculations of hierologists prove beyond all doubt that the most trust-worthy of them are at best only an approximation to truth. Still the conviction seems to be irresistibly forced upon all, that the era of the Mosaic creation must be assigned to ■ much more distant period than we have been wont to ascribe to it, in order to admit of the necessary interval for the occurrence of those remarkable events which are recorded both in the sacred and profane history of primitive times.

Perhaps the next most interesting of all investigations connected with Egyptian history, is that which relates to the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt. It is only indirectly, however, that light is thrown on this subject by the disclosures of hieroglyphics, in so far as they have yet been prosecuted ; nor is it even yet absolutely agreed among hierologists under which of the Pharaohs the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt took place. A little reflection, indeed, must satisfy us of the improbability of any very remarkable notices of the Israelites being found on the Egyptian monuments, notwithstanding the important place that country occupies in their earliest annals as a nation. There was nothing in their entry into Egypt calculated to make any great impression, or to induce a record to be made of it on the national monuments. A descendant of Abraham, brought to Egypt as a slave, and cast into its dungeons by the false machinations of a cruel mistress, found favour at length with the sovereign, by the special interposition of God, and having foretold an approaching season of plenty which would be succeeded by a corresponding duration

Israel in
Egypt.

Absence of
direct
records.

of severe famine, he was chosen as the fittest overseer to provide for the season of difficulty and privation which he had foretold. In this advancement of the captive to supreme rule under Pharaoh, we see such a mixture of wisdom and despotic power, as is still occasionally shown among the modern governments of the East. If, however, we except this minister of the Pharaohs, whose titles may yet be discovered among the hieroglyphical inscriptions, there was nothing in the history of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt likely to be commemorated in the national annals. The aged patriarch and his family were welcomed to Egypt with such gifts and honours as were likely to be lavished on the relatives of a powerful minister. They had lands and revenues assigned them, and were doubtless the recipients of many favours, during the lifetime of Joseph. These events are believed to have occurred at the period of the declining power of the kings of Lower Egypt, it is supposed, from such chronological concurrence of evidence as has been yet established, about 1700 B.C. From the sacred narrative we discover evidence of a remarkable change having taken place between the period of Abraham's visit to Egypt, and that which immediately preceded the Exodus of the Israelites. When the reigning Pharaoh took Sarai, the wife of Abraham, and entreated him well for her sake, he gave him sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels. There manifestly existed no prejudice in the mind of Pharaoh against the pastoral occupation of the patriarch. Probably the same feeling remained unchanged under that Pharaoh who raised Joseph to the rank of chief minister, and bestowed on the shepherd-patriarchs of Palestine the frontier province of Goshen. But soon after events occurred which appear to have rendered the pastoral occupation hateful in the estimation of the Egyptians. Of such a change the monuments afford numerous proofs. The wealth and the abundance of the Egyptians, naturally excited the cupi-

Supposed
date of the
Israelites'
arrival.

Evidences
of a great
change.

CHAP. XII. dity of neighbouring countries, and led at various times to the invasion of Egypt by conquering armies. Southern or Upper Egypt was then, as to some extent it still is, surrounded, on its eastern frontiers, by nomadic pastoral tribes, whose irregular and unsettled mode of life rendered them ready at all times to avail themselves of opportunities of plunder. Under the vigilant sway of Egypt's most powerful sovereigns any inroads of such plundering hoards could only be of rare occurrence, and extremely partial in their effects. The first manifesta-
Invaders of
Egypt. of failing vigilance, or of symptoms of weakness, would be sure to be taken advantage of by such frontier tribes; and we accordingly learn, both from the monuments and profane history, of the Hycksos, or shepherd-kings, having at length reduced Upper Egypt under their yoke, and probably compelled the Pharaohs of Lower Egypt to pay tribute. Hence arose that hatred of every shepherd race which we detect in the Mosaic narrative. "Every shepherd," says Moses, "is an abomination to the Egyptians." And again, when Pharaoh grudgingly conceded to the children of Israel that they might offer their sacrifices to the Lord in Egypt, Moses replied—"It is not meet so to do, for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God; so shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?" A great and most manifest change had come over the Egyptians in the interval between the presents of Pharaoh to Abraham of sheep and oxen, as princely marks of favour, and their being regarded as the abomination of the Egyptians.

The shep-
herd kings. Hatred of
shepherd
tribes.

Accession
of the new
dynasty.

The first notice of this remarkable change appears in the accession of that other king "who knew not Joseph." It was not merely that one Pharaoh had died, and his heir had succeeded to the throne. A total change had taken place, in consequence of which the pastoral occupants of the land of Goshen had become objects of hatred and distrust to the Egyptians. Thenceforth the Israelites

were confounded with the hated Hycksos race; and when CHAP. XI.
the shepherd-kings were driven out of Egypt such of Enslaving of
their race as remained were treated as slaves. The Hebrews.
Hebrews were, in like manner, compelled to become the servants of the Egyptians, and both races were employed on the public works, in making bricks, and building the fortifications, palaces, and temples, which the elder Pharaohs delighted to rear. Wilkinson, after careful study of the subject, believes the Pharaoh under whom the Israelites effected their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, was Thothmes III., about the year 1491 before Christ. He draws, however, another conclusion, with reference to this monarch, from the same hieroglyphical records, which, at first sight, appears irreconcilable with the sacred narrative, that Thothmes returned from the Red Sea, and reigned many years after the escape of the Hebrews. An examination of the narrative, in the book of Exodus, however, will probably induce the reader to acquiesce in the possibility of Pharaoh's escape. The inspired record is exceedingly beautiful from its concise simplicity:—“And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea ; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground : and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. And it came to pass, that in the morning watch the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels, that they drove them heavily : so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel ; for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians. And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their

Remarkable conclusions derived from the monuments.

The Exodus.

CHAP. XII. chariots, and upon their horsemen. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to its strength when the morning appeared ; and the Egyptians fled against it ; and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them ; there remained not so much as one of them. But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea ; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. Thus the Lord saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians ; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore."

Drowning of Pharaoh's host. In a previous sentence the Lord says to Moses, " I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and upon all his host." Nor is it easy to conceive a more signal manifestation of discomfiture, than to picture the Egyptian monarch tarrying his chariot on the heights, while his confident hosts descended into the bed of the sea, and watching their progress in full confidence of an easy victory ; and then to picture the shame and astonishment with which the haughty ruler would behold, in the gray dawn of the morning, his chariots and horsemen fleeing from the face of Israel, and at length overwhelmed in the returning sea. Moses exclaims in his exulting song of triumph : " The Lord is a man of war. Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea, his chosen captains also hath he drowned in the sea. The depths have covered them ; they sank as a stone." Here is no allusion to Pharaoh, whose own death, still more than that of his chosen captains, might have been expected to form the most prominent subject of triumphant exultation. The Psalmist, indeed, says, He " made Israel to pass through the midst of it, but overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea." But the language of the 136th psalm, where this occurs, is highly figurative. In it the sun is spoken of as the ruler of the day, and the moon and stars the rulers of the night, while the arrangement of its responses

Triumph of the Israelites.

indicates its construction as an alternate chant or joyous CHAP. XII.
song of praise for the temple service. In such a psalm Pharaoh's
Pharaoh might well be spoken of as overthrown, though overthrow.
he himself escaped, and returned with shame and dis-
honour, to bear back the tidings of his defeat and the
annihilation of the mighty host in which he had trusted.
The date of the Exodus, according to the most generally
received opinions, is about b. c. 1491, whoever was the Date of the
reigning Pharaoh at the time. On this subject ■ recent Exodus.
writer remarks : "There is no assertion in the Mosaic
narrative, that Pharaoh himself was lost in the Red Sea;
nor is there any allusion in the Song of Moses to the
death of the sovereign : and some of the Hebrew tradi-
tions declare that Pharaoh survived, and extended his
conquests afterwards into Assyria. Thus the supposition
that the Israelites marched out in an early year of the
reign of Thothmes III. is not irreconcilable with his
having reigned thirty-nine years, as Egyptian history
declares that he did. Manetho mentions their numbers Number of
to have been eighty thousand when they were sent to the Hebrews.
live by themselves: and it is curious on this account, and
on some others, to find the number assigned by the Mosaic
history so high as six hundred thousand, besides women
and children. Even if we suppose a proportion of these
to have been their fellow-slaves of the shepherd race,
who, being confounded with the Hebrews by their mas-
ters, took this opportunity of leaving the country, it gives
us a high idea of the power and population of Egypt in
those days that such a body could be abstracted from the
working class of the country, and leave behind a suffi-
cient force for the achievement of such wars and arts as
we know were prosecuted after their departure."

Still the reader will not fail to remember that much Comparative
uncertainty rests on the inquiry relating to the Pharaonic certainty of
history, at the epoch of the Hebrew Exodus, and no revelation
sincere inquirer after truth can for a moment think of and science.
opposing to the declarations of the divine record, the speculations of modern science, put forth, as they have

CHAP. XII.

Sir J. G.
WilkinsonImperfect
knowledge
of the ancient
language.Difficulties to
be overcome.Extent of
present
knowledge.Opinion of
Mr. Birch.

been on this subject, by the learned and cautious author of the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," with all the modesty and doubt of one who rests with implicit confidence on the unquestionable truth of Scripture history. It only becomes us in this, as in so many other apparent collisions between the Scriptures and modern science, to be sure that we are not defending as God's word, what is only our own misapprehension of it.

It must not be omitted, however, in justice to the cautious and truthful students of this intricate but most important department of historic investigation, that the ablest of them have been the most ready to acknowledge the very imperfect mastery as yet acquired of the ancient language of Egypt, and of the characters in which it was inscribed on stone, and engrossed on papyrus. The phonetic value of the letters, has, indeed, to all appearance been established beyond a doubt. But much more still remains to be done. The resuscitation of a dead language, ages after it has ceased to be uttered by human tongue, is a task the difficulty of which can hardly be conveyed in its full force to ordinary minds, who have had no opportunity of grappling with the like difficulties. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, one of the highest of all living authorities on the subject, thus expressed himself, so recently as 1835, "No one is yet sufficiently advanced in the language of ancient Egypt to enable him literally to translate an inscription of any length, or moderately complicated, though a general meaning may frequently be obtained." This opinion has more recently been abundantly confirmed by Mr. Birch of the British Museum, in his analysis of the hieroglyphics and quarry marks discovered by Colonel Howard Vyse, in the chambers of the Great Pyramid. "Hieroglyphics," he remarks, "are at present so imperfectly understood, that it is difficult to give an explanation of the whole of these signs, many of which may after all have been merely appropriate to masonry." Still with all these difficulties, and the very imperfect mastery of these inscriptions, much has already

been established on well grounded evidence, and many CHAP. XII.
valuable collateral confirmations have already been afford-
ed to Scripture history.

While we turn to the hieroglyphic records for information regarding the early history of the Hebrews, and their sojourn in the land of Egypt, we may also derive from a knowledge of Egyptian habits and customs much indirect but valuable light in relation to Jewish rites and manners. Moses, we are told, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and we cannot imagine that the Jewish people, after dwelling for successive generations in that land, could fail to return from it with many habits and opinions, and much knowledge, altogether unknown to their fathers. It is probable that their language was greatly modified during their sojourn among people so far in advance in all branches of human learning. Philologists find many striking affinities between the Hebrew and the modern Coptic, as preserved in the late Christian manuscripts. When we allow for the great modifications of both languages, and especially of the latter, in the lapse of ages, and the many relative changes and commingling of races, it is not too much, perhaps, to suppose that the language in which the commandments were inscribed on tablets of stone, by the finger of God, might have been understood by other dwellers in Egypt besides those who had so recently escaped from the hands of its task-masters. More than one ingenious critic has, indeed, attempted recently to establish a complete correspondence between the Hebrew and the ancient language of Egypt, and although the proof of this has failed, Gliddon has most ingeniously indicated in his recent work on "Ancient Egypt," the derivation of the Egyptian hieratic and the common Hebrew characters from the same original, namely, the phonetic hieroglyphics as they now appear inscribed on the most ancient monuments of Egypt. When we consider all the incidents of patriarchal history, this is only what we might look for. It is extremely probable that the fathers of

Similarity
between
Egyptian and
Hebrew
manners.

Probable
results of the
sojourn in
Egypt.

Affinity of
language.

Derivation of
Hebrew
characters.

CHAP. XII.

Evidence of
patriarchal
simplicity.

Friendly
feelings
entertained
by the He-
brews

Supposed
popular
fallacy.

the Hebrew race were totally ignorant of any written language until they sojourned in Egypt. We may trace evidences of their simple patriarchal habits and ideas in the transaction between Abraham and the sons of Heth, and in the agreement entered into between Laban and Jacob. In the latter instance, the stone and the heap set up as the memorial of their contract, completely correspond with the simple methods adopted most commonly among all primitive tribes in evidence of any important agreement. The written contracts, signed, sealed, and attested by witnesses, are the substitutes for these which are only adopted when society has far advanced in the arts of civilization, and when its refinements have obliterated the simplicity as well as the ignorance of a ruder social state. When we consider the hard bondage and oppression, and the cruel wrongs endured by the Israelites, before they effected their deliverance from Egypt, by the Divine interposition, it might seem surprising to find the manner in which the Egyptians are frequently spoken of in the Scriptures as a race more nearly allied by ties of friendship to the Israelites than the generality of the nations by whom they were surrounded. On this subject it may be interesting to consider the remarks of Gliddon, who, in a previous portion of his work, says, "There is nothing in my essays which militates with the most orthodox views of Holy Writ ; my observations will tend, on the contrary, to confirm biblical authority." Whether, therefore, the reader concur with his remarks or not, he need not be apprehensive that this author is availing himself of the discoveries of science to undermine the sure truths of revelation. He remarks, "A popular fallacy, and one which, being very prevalent, produces many erroneous deductions, is the supposition that *any* curse attached itself to Ham ; who, as the father of the Egyptians, has been therefore made the parent of *other* so-called African nations.

" This anomaly, which originates in the misconceptions

of the early Fathers, falls to the ground when we read CHAP. XII. with attention from the 20th to the 27th verses of ix. Genesis. It is there expressly recorded as Noah's prophetic denunciation, not of Ham, nor of Cush, nor of Mizraim, nor of Phut, 'cursed be Canaan'—the fourth and *youngest* son of Ham.

" Now Canaan, in direct contravention of the will of God, took possession of Palestine—the land destined for the posterity of Abraham ; and it was with a foreknowledge of his evil deeds, that Noah was permitted to curse him. Some fifteen centuries after this event, the Canaanites were ejected from Palestine, slaughtered, or subjugated by the hosts of Joshua ; who politically fulfilled the extinction of a doomed race, and took possession of Abraham's inheritance. No doubt need be entertained that Canaan was accursed—and deservedly so, when we consider the abominations of the heathen rites originated and practised by his descendants—their human sacrifices —their altars reeking with the blood of men : yet, even in the moral wilderness of Canaan we meet with oases ; for —Genesis xiv. 18—Melchizedek, king of Salem, 'was a priest of the most high God'—a proof, that, in Abraham's day, the worst Gentile nation had one man who followed the pure primeval creed ; nor did the Almighty disregard the expostulating prayer of Abimelech, king of Gerar—Gen. xx. 4—'Lord, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation ?'

" Other exceptions to the curse on Canaan and his descendants, are producible ; but, as a general rule, the Phoenicians and their Carthaginian colony, with other Canaanites, were, in their paganism, atrociously inhuman.

" Canaan, however, was not physically changed in consequence of the curse. He ever remained a white man, as did, and do, all his many descendants. No scriptural production can be found, that would support an hypothesis so absurd, as that, in consequence of the curse, Canaan was transmuted into a NEGRO, or into any, the very slightest affinities to the varied races we now designate as Africans ; while equally untenable is that opinion

*Curse on
Canaan.*

*Remarkable
exceptions.*

*General
character of
the race.*

*Misapplica-
tion of the
curse.*

CHAP. XII. which would, in consequence of their undeniable inferiority of race, account the Negroes to be by Providence accursed.

Egyptian
paintings of
the Canaan-
ite.

"What the Canaanites were, prior to b.c. 1500, is sufficiently illustrated by the *portrait* of a Canaanite (co-existent with every variety of Negro, also illustrated,) from the Theban sculptures, cut about the period of the Jewish Exodus; over whose head is read in hieroglyphics, 'Kanana, barbarian country;' and, it is well worthy of remark, that on three different occasions. (two of them recorded prior to the Exode, and one while the Jews were probably at Mount Sinai,) we find the Pharaonic armies conquering places in Canaan—'Kanana!' This is perfectly confirmatory of the chronological arrangement herein followed; because, as Joshua overthrew the land of Canaan subsequently to these Egyptian victories, it is quite natural that, during events preceding Joshua, 'the Canaanite should still be in the land' as he was in the days of Abraham. In later times, among the hieroglyphical records of Egyptian conquests in Palestine, Kanana disappears, to be replaced by the 'King of Judah.'

Erroneous in-
ferences from
Scripture.

"If then with the curse branded on Canaan, and on his whole posterity, the Almighty did not see fit to change his skin, his hair, bones, or any portion of his physical structure, how unjust, how baseless is that theory (unsupported by a line in Scripture, and in diametrical opposition to monumental and historical testimony,) which would make Canaan's immediate progenitor, Ham, the father of the Negroes! or his apparently blameless brother, Mizraim, an Ethiopian!

The sons of
Noah.

"Ham, indeed, is omitted after the prophetic execration of Canaan. And, while Shem is peculiarly blessed, and Japheth is told that 'God shall enlarge' him, and that he shall dwell (as he does) 'in the tents of Shem,' neither Ham, nor his other three sons, Cush, Mizraim, and Phut, are doomed to be fellow-servants with the 'servant of servants,' Canaan.

" In fact, Ham and his three sons partook of all earthly CHAP XII.
blessings ; and whether he accompanied Mizraim into Blessings of
Egypt or not, we find the earliest Egyptian records (written
not many centuries after his death,) give his name
to the Valley of the Nile—that in Psalm lxxviii. 51, and
elsewhere, Egypt is designated as 'the tabernacles of
Ham'—and that a variety of other testimony associates
Ham with the richest, most fertile, and most ancient
country of the earth ; and makes him the progenitor of
the most civilized and powerful nation of antiquity.

" It would not be at all consistent with the authority Hebrew law.
that enjoins on the Hebrews the observance of the follow-
ing law, to suppose any curse hung over Ham or his
descendants, until, in long posterior times, these had
morally fallen from the character of their high-caste
ancestry. No nations but Egypt and Edom enjoyed this
privilege.

" Deut. xxiii. 7, 8—"Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, Special privi-
for he is thy brother : thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, leges of Edom
because thou wast a stranger in his land. The children
that are begotten of them shall enter into the congrega-
tion of the Lord in their third generation.' and Egypt.

" It is a curious philological coincidence, that in Egyp-
tian hieroglyphics, as in Coptic, the word for stranger
was 'shemmo.' The Israelite was a stranger in Egypt,
and a descendant of Shem—he was therefore shemmo.

" In one word, from the earliest times, the children of Excessive
Ham, or Egyptians, and the children of Shem, or Israelites, bore each other no hereditary ill-will. Why should predilections
they, being of the same Caucasian stock, the descendants of the He-
of twin brothers ? This constant attachment to Egypt, brews for the
on the part of the Hebrews, continued ever intact, and even excited the Divine anger ; while, finally, no curse Excessive
did or could separate Ham from the temporal blessings predilections
allotted to his family, or from union spiritually with his of the He-
twin brother Shem ; because a portion of Ham's blood
flowed in the line of the promised seed, through Rahab
of Jericho, a Canaanitish woman, who married Salmon,

CHAP. XII. and became the mother of Boaz, the grandfather of Jesse, the father of David."

Influences of these remarks on modern prejudices. The author of these remarks was perhaps induced to dwell on them the more strongly, from the keen prejudices prevailing in his native country on the subject of negro slavery, and the supposed distinction of races. The subject, however, is one of general interest, and calculated to remove erroneous and unfounded prejudices in our country as well as in America. On the same subject, Dr. Taylor remarks, in his "Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt":—"The exposed condition of the Eastern frontiers of Egypt after the Exodus, is illustrated incidentally in the Old Testament by the repeated mention of Egyptians carried off as captives, and sold into slavery. It is important to observe that the Israelites treated these Egyptians with great kindness, because it adds one to the many proofs which will be subsequently adduced to show that the Pharaoh by whom the Israelites were oppressed was not a native prince, but the head of a foreign dynasty of conquerors, most probably the Hycksos. Thus we read—'Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And She-shan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him Attai.' (1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.)

"This marriage with an Egyptian is indeed directly sanctioned by the laws of Moses, for, in the recapitulation of his ordinances, the Jewish legislator says: 'Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land.' (Deut. xxiii. 7.)

David's kindness to an Egyptian. "The history of David furnishes us with another proof of the amicable feelings which the Egyptians and the Israelites mutually entertained for each other. When David and his companions pursued the Amalekites, who had spoiled Ziklag, 'they found an Egyptian in the field, and brought him to David, and gave him bread, and he did eat; and they made him drink water; and they

gave him a piece of a cake of figs, and two clusters of CHAP. XII.
raisins : and when he had eaten, his spirit came again to him, for he had eaten no bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three nights. And David said unto him, To whom belongeth thou, and whence art thou ? And he said, I am a young man of Egypt, servant to an Amalekite ; and my master left me, because three days agone I fell sick. We made an invasion upon the south of the Cherethites, and upon the coast which belongeth to Judah, and upon the south of Caleb ; and we burned Ziklag with fire. And David said to him, Canst thou bring me down to this company ? And he said, Swear unto me by God, that thou wilt neither kill me, nor deliver me into the hands of my master, and I will bring thee down to this company.' (1 Sam. xxx. 11-15.)

" But these friendly relations were sometimes interrupted, for we find it recorded among the exploits of Benaiah, one of David's most celebrated warriors, that ' He slew an Egyptian, a goodly man : and the Egyptian had a spear in his hand ; but he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.' (2 Sam. xxiii. 21.)"

Nor can we forget the more remarkable fact, already alluded to, that " no curse could separate Ham from the temporal blessings allotted to his family, or from union spiritually with his twin brother Shem; because a portion of Ham's blood flowed in the line of the promised seed, through Rahab of Jericho, who married Salmon, and became the mother of Boaz, the grandfather of Jesse, the father of David." It is also to be remembered, that, while Solomon is both censured and threatened with judgments for his intercourse with Canaanitish women, his marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh preceded his sacrifices to God at Gibeon, which were followed by the remarkable manifestation of Divine favour, in which he was desired to ask what he would, and it should be granted to him. No biblical critic has ever

Occasional
contrast
to such
conduct.

Union of
Ham and
Shem.

CHAP XII. referred to this alliance with an Egyptian as sinful or unbecoming in the sovereign of God's chosen people, while many able and pious writers have concurred in believing that the Book of Canticles was originally composed as an epithalamium at the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of Pharaoh, the king and the Egyptian princess being the bride and bridegroom of the poem ; though at the same time the sacred song was so constructed, under Divine inspiration, as to form a mystical allegory, representing the relation which subsists between Christ and his Church.

Egyptian illustration
of the Can-
ticles.

We shall have occasion to refer again to Solomon's marriage with the Egyptian Princess in the historical investigations of the following chapter. But the allusions to the garden, and the pleasure which it affords, so frequently made in Solomon's Song, find abundant illustration from Egyptian habits. It might be expected, in a country devoted to agriculture, and where the warmth of the climate rendered the pleasant shade of trees so grateful, that much attention would be paid to gardening. Of this the hieroglyphics furnish abundant evidence. Flowers are constantly introduced as decorations, offerings, symbols, &c. ; and frequent representations occur in the paintings of whole gardens. The mode of representing these is according to what we style a bird's-eye-view. A little study, however, renders their arrangement readily understood, notwithstanding the confusion consequent on a total ignorance of the first rules of perspective. The Egyptian garden appears to have been laid out in a style not greatly dissimilar to that which prevailed in England during last century, and is ordinarily supposed to have been derived from the Dutch. The plots are arranged in formal squares, and the trees in straight rows, with terraces rising one above another. The paths, shaded by rows of trees, or by well-trained vines, could not fail to afford a most grateful scene of recreation for the wealthy Egyptian, and be esteemed among the most enviable luxuries that wealth could

Ancient
gardens of
Egypt.

procure. In describing one of these singular Egyptian CHAP. XII.
garden pictures, Dr. Taylor remarks :—“The flower-beds Observations
are square and formal ; the raised terraces run in suggested
straight lines ; arbours of trellis-work occur at definite by their
intervals, covered with vines and other creepers, which gardens.
it is difficult to identify. Some of the ponds are stored
with water-fowl, and others with fish. Vegetables are
depicted in great variety and abundance. It is, indeed,
impossible to look at any representation of an Egyptian
garden, without feeling some sympathy for the com-
plaints and murmurings of the Israelites in the desert.
‘The children of Israel also wept again, and said, Who
shall give us flesh to eat ? We remember the fish,
which we did eat in Egypt freely ; the cucumbers and
the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the gar-
lick ; but now our soul is dried away, there is nothing
at all beside this manna before our eyes.’ (Numb. xi.
4–6.)

“This attachment to gardens is frequently made the Poetical
subject of poetical allusions in the Song of Solomon, allusions to
which though it has a much more high and holy signifi-
cation, as both Jewish and Christian commentators
unanimously agree, yet was primarily designed as an
epithalamium on his marriage with a beautiful Egyptian
princess, the daughter of the reigning Pharaoh. ‘A
garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse ; a spring shut
up, a fountain sealed. Thy plants are an orchard of
pomegranates with pleasant fruits ; camphire, with
spikenard ; spikenard and saffron ; calamus and cinna-
mon, with all trees of frankincense ; myrrh and aloes,
with all the chief spices : a fountain of gardens, a well
of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.’ (Cantic.
iv. 12–15.

“But no flower or fruit raised in the Egyptian garden Use of
was more valued than the lotus : we meet it everywhere : flowers.
the Egyptian ladies wore it as an ornament in the hair,
they wore necklaces of its petals in their formal ban-
quets ; they were rarely seen without one of these

CHAP. XII. flowers, either in bud or bloom, in their hands. This circumstance serves to explain a difficulty which has hitherto perplexed all biblical critics, the title of the forty-fifth Psalm. It is generally supposed that this Psalm was an hymeneal ode composed on the occasion of Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter, although it is allowed on all hands to have a much higher purport, prophetically referring to the majesty and grace of the Messiah's kingdom. The title of the Psalm is of some importance ; it is headed 'To the chief musician upon Shoshannim, for the sons of Korah, Maschil, a song of loves.' The word Shoshannim has puzzled the commentators, Jewish and Christian ; it signifies 'lilies,' and they all declare that lilies have nothing to do with the subject of the ode. But, as we shall presently see, this hymeneal ode was intended to be sung by the female attendants of the Egyptian princess, and they are called 'the lilies,' not only by a poetic reference to the lotus lilies of the Nile, but by a direct allusion to their custom of making the lotus lily a conspicuous ornament of their head-dress. Shoshannim then, instead of being the name of an unknown tune, as most of the commentators assert, is a poetic allusion at once to the country, the beauty, and the dress of the female choristers.

**Female
head-dress.**

"A glance at the ornament worn by the Egyptian ladies, as frequently represented in their paintings, will suffice to show how beautiful and how appropriate is the epithet. Maschil signifies 'instruction ;' the word rendered 'of loves,' (Jedidith,) signifies also 'the beloved one,' or by a slight change in the pointing, 'the lovely or beloved girls ;' that is, the female attendants for whose instruction the ode was composed.

"There are several allusions to this passion of the Egyptian ladies for their national flower, in Solomon's Song ; thus the daughter of Pharaoh declares, 'My beloved is mine, and I am his : he feedeth among the lilies.' "

**Suggested
explanation
of Scripture.**

**Egyptian
lilies.**

So, too, the Spouse exclaims to his Bride—"Thy stature is like to a palm-tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes." And again—"I went down into the garden of nuts to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished, and the pomegranates budded." Many other passages suffice to illustrate the same comparisons.

Among the various inquiries instituted by modern investigators into the "Bible illustrations," which the monuments of Egypt supply, some may justly be regarded as fanciful, while others are at least open to further discussion and to differences of opinion. The following is introduced in "Ancient Egypt," as an illustration of one of the most obscure and difficult points which occur in the Old Testament narrative, in relation to the Hebrew priesthood:—^{Curious illustrative suggestions.} "The judges in Egypt wore golden chains around their necks, to which was suspended a small figure of Thmè, ornamented with jewels; being Thmè in her double capacity of Justice and Truth. For, owing to the wise administration of their laws, the denizens of the Nile could, with propriety, call their native land 'the region of justice and truth,' and 'the country of purity and justice,' in contradistinction to the irregular nomadic habits of the less civilized and barbarian nations of Africa and Asia, to them adjacent."

"Some of these judicial breastplates are extant in European museums; others are to be seen on the monuments, containing the figures of two deities; Rá, the sun; and Thmè. These are the Rá, or the sun in a double capacity; physical and intellectual light, and Thmè, in a double capacity—justice and truth."

"In Hebrew, the sun was called Aur; and, in the same language, truth is the word THME, *integritas, ἀληθεία.* Again, in Hebrew, the double capacity of any thing is expressed by the dual number; thus:

"Aur, becomes in the dual, AURIM.

"Thmè, becomes in the dual, THMIM.

"Now turn to Exodus xxviii. 11—speaking of the

CHAP. XII.

Suggested interpretation.

Ephod : ‘with the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet (that is, in symbolic, and not in alphabetic characters) shalt thou engrave the two stones.’ Idem xxviii.—‘and they shall bind the breastplate by the rings (which, in verses 22 and 24, are said to be ‘wreathen chains of gold,’) thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod.’ Idem xxix.—Aaron the high priest, is to wear the ‘breastplate of judgment upon his heart’—in the same manner as the Egyptian judges, who were all high priests, wore their breastplates—verse 30 —‘and thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the URIM and the THUMMIM ;’ that is, as the commentator explains in the margin, ‘the lights and perfections’—equivalent to the Egyptian double symbolic capacity of Rā, the sun or light ; and the double symbolical character of Thmè or perfections.

“Are not the ‘symbols of the Egyptians similar to those of the Hebrews?’ Did not Moses, ‘learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,’ follow in the Aurim and Thmim of the Hebrew judicial breastplates, the symbolical method and long anterior types used by the Egyptian high priests ? Can we suppose this similarity to be the effect of chance ? Must we not attribute the identity to a common primeval and sacred source, more remote than the establishment of either nation ? In both nations, none but the Arch Judges, and high priests, could wear the breastplate of lights and perfections.”

Similarity of Egyptian and Hebrew symbols.Value of such illustrations.

We must leave to the intelligent reader to form his own judgment on this ingenious illustration of the Scripture, and decide for himself whether the singular coincidence is merely fanciful or true. Many illustrations, however, furnished from the same source, like those derived from modern eastern customs and habits, serve to throw much light on passages of the Bible, and to add new force to its language and imagery. This is

The Urim and Thummim.

especially the case in the potter's art, which appears to CHAP. XII. have been brought to great perfection in Egypt at a very early period. In the contents of the earlier sepulchral tumuli both of Europe and Asia, rude cinerary urns are frequently found, which show that their constructors were totally ignorant of the simple device of the potter's wheel. It is altogether different, however, when we turn to Egypt. There the pottery found in the tombs equals the other skilful manufactures of that wonderful people, and in the ancient paintings which adorn their temples and tombs, we see the potter at work, shaping the clay on his revolving wheel, and rounding it, and bringing it into symmetrical form with his hands. It can hardly admit of doubt that the Israelites derived this art from the Egyptians. They were employed in the hard bondage of making bricks of clay, and also, we may presume, in the similar works of the pottery, where the same clay was moulded into vessels "of honour and dishonour." The ideas naturally springing from this simple but most suggestive art, are frequently made use of in the sublime imagery of Scripture. God having made man out of the dust of the ground—ADAM signifying in the Hebrew, both *man* and *red clay*—and moulded him into the beauty of the human form, the ideal similarity of this Divine act of creation, to the work of the potter when he moulds the same soil into forms of beauty and proportion, according to his will, could hardly escape the thoughtful and pious mind. Thus Isaiah exclaims, "O Lord, thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we all are the work of thy hand,"—the same language which is elsewhere applied to the glorious orbs that shine in the azure vault of night: "The work of thy hands!" In like manner, the apostle Paul makes use of this illustration, in a very remarkable manner, to enforce the justice of God, in rejecting his chosen people, and adopting the Gentile seed of Abraham, according to the spiritual meaning which was included in the original promise, "Shall the thing formed

Illustrations
derived from
the potter's
art.

Ideas natu-
rally sug-
gested.

Prophetic
use of the
symbol.

CHAP. XII. say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus ? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour." It is scarcely possible to conceive of language more simple, and yet more powerful in the conviction it brings with it of the absolute right of God to deal according to his Divine pleasure with the works of his hands. The same idea is familiar to us in the language of Jeremiah : "The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, Arise, and go down to the potter's house ; and there I will cause thee to hear my words. Then I went down to the potter's house ; and, behold, he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter : so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it. Then the word of the Lord came to me, saying, O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter ? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel." Yet the hieroglyphical student discovers, not without surprise, that this is an Egyptian, no less than a Hebrew idea. Among the pictorial decorations on the walls of the Temple at Philæ, there is one which represents the god Amun-Kneph, in the form of a human figure with a ram's head, seated in front of a potter's wheel, which he is turning with his foot, while with both hands he fashions a lump of clay which revolves on it into form. The hieroglyphic inscription which surmounts it has been thus translated : "Knum, the Creator, on his wheel, moulds the divine members of Osiris (the type of man) in the shining house of life." Such remarkable coincidence in Hebrew and Egyptian ideas cannot but strike the intelligent reader as affording subject for thought, and a strong incentive to further study of the records of Egypt.

It must not be overlooked, in studying these interesting and authentic illustrations of eastern manners and ideas contemporaneous with the writing of the older

Jeremiah's
symbol of the
potter.

Egyptian
origin of the
idea.

Symbol of
creation.

CHAP. XII.

Imprudent
use of such
studies.Extravagant
misinterpretations.The judg-
ment scene.

The balance.

Scripture histories and prophetic records, that much prudence and judgment is required to avoid forcing them to extreme conclusions. This has frequently been done by recent writers, and is calculated greatly to prejudice the legitimate investigations of more sober students of Egyptian history. From the Triads of the Egyptian mythology, for example, some writers have pretended to adduce an exact analogy with, if not indeed the positive derivation of the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity; while others have regarded the poetic allegories embodied in that creed with such admiration, that they have overlooked all the grossness of its practical bearing on the popular mind, and have even ventured to compare the fabled allegory of Osiris, with the incarnation of our Lord. Such errors, however, have in no case been committed by the learned and laborious expositors of hieroglyphic records or Egyptian antiquities, but by superficial writers, who have acquired their knowledge of these things at second-hand, and have been content with such slight coincidences as the same diligence might have found even amid the puerile extravagancies of Brahminical superstition. One singularly interesting exposition of Egyptian faith, however, should not be overlooked, and that is the pictorial representations of the scene of final judgment of the soul after death. Amid all that may seem to us unintelligible or grotesque, we still detect, beyond a doubt, the doctrines of future rewards and punishments, and of final retribution. It is a scene frequently painted and figured, not only on the temples and tombs, but also on the coffins and mummy cases. Osiris, the judge of the dead, appears seated on his throne, attended by Isis and Nephtys. The most prominent object invariably represented in the scene is the balance and scales, in which the actions of the deceased are to be weighed, reminding us most forcibly of the interpretation by Daniel, of the mysterious writing on the wall of the Babylonian palace: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Anubis the jackall-headed deity presides over the balance,

CHAP. XII. watching its ascending and descending scale. He is thence styled "director of the weight." His office in the Egyptian mythology was to superintend the passage of the soul from this life to a future state. He is frequently introduced in the sculptures standing over the bier on which a corpse or mummy is laid ; and though to the Egyptian, he thus represented the presiding angel superintending the departure of the soul from its earthly tabernacle, it is difficult to conceive that the idea of such a monstrous looking angel of death invisibly present by the bed of the dying, could fail to add to the terrors of that closing scene, illuminated by no brighter hopes than those of the Egyptian creed. To return, however, to the representation of the judgment scene. The deceased is conducted to judgment by the god Horus, and Anubis places on the one scale a vase supposed to contain his good actions, while in the other is seen the figure or emblem of truth, already described as Thmè or Thmèi, the goddess of truth, on the judicial breastplate. Thoth, the ibis-headed god, represents the recording angel, standing by the balance with tablet and style in his hand, ready to write down the results of the impartial judgment. If the result is such that the deceased is not "found wanting," he is then seen introduced by Horus to Osiris, by whom he is dismissed with favour, and conducted by his guide to the mansions of the blessed, over the gate of which Cerberus is generally represented seated. If, however, the actions of the deceased cannot abide this solemn judgment, the soul is then condemned to return to the world under the form of a pig or some other unclean animal, and he is seen borne back to earth in this degraded form, being generally ferried across the river of death, and back to the scenes of his former sinful career by a crew of baboons. The doctrine of the Egyptians taught them to believe in a system of transmigration, somewhat analogous to part of the Brahminical creed. The soul thus returned to earth as a punishment for "the deeds done in the flesh," had to

Horus and
Thmèi.

Divine
judgment.

Transmigra-
tion.

pass through many changes of form, and a variety of CHAP. XII.
trials ere it could again be permitted to reappear before
the judge of the dead, and submit anew to the stern
ordeal of the judgment of Osiris.

In this we see much that is interesting and instructive, mixed up with the grosser corruptions of Egyptian mythology. It would be easy, indeed, in this case also, for the superficial student to say, here is the doctrine of immortality of the soul, and of final retribution ; but though it undoubtedly includes such doctrines, they are mingled with many corruptions and errors, which must have painfully darkened the hour of death to the believer in such a creed, while we look in vain for any shadow of that doctrine of Divine atonement which forms the chief element of the Christian religion.

Singular mixture in Egyptian mythology.

CHAPTER XIII.

Evidences of History from Egyptian Antiquities.

Concurrent Testimony of independent observers—Chronological Tables—Abraham's visit to Egypt—Government of Joseph—Succeeding Pharaohs—Egyptian Paintings and other records—The Cartouche—Assyrian Ivories—Ingenious mode of restoring them—Their Hieroglyphic Symbols—Probable Date—Mutual intercourse between Egypt and Assyria—Contemporary occurrences—Evidences from Scripture—Sheshonk and Rehoboam—Supposed Portrait of the Jewish King—Anticipation of further discoveries.

CHAP. XIII ONE of the most remarkable points in early history which has received valuable contributions from recent results of hieroglyphical study, is that of ancient chronology. To this we have already directed the reader's attention, and have shown its bearing in relation to the Mosaic narrative. The process of reasoning by which these conclusions have been arrived at is ingenious, and in many cases complicated, yet altogether satisfactory in its results. Rozellini, Champollion, Bunsen, Wilkinson, and other students of different countries pursuing their investigations apart, and without knowledge of each others inquiries, have arrived at nearly the same results. The knowledge of the true value of phonetic hieroglyphics is now such, that little or no difficulty is found in reading almost any royal cartouche. These, the reader will by this time understand, are in fact the signatures appended to hieroglyphic inscriptions, attesting them, and assigning them to their authorizer. Along with such also, various dates frequently occur relative to the period of the reign of the

Contributions to
ancient
chronology.

Concurrent testimony.

Royal
cartouche.

sovereign whose cartouche they accompany; as in the CHAP. XIII. case of Thothmes III., already referred to, by means of which Wilkinson considers himself enabled to establish the fact of that Pharaoh having survived the destruction of the Egyptian host at the Exodus of the Israelites. In several works, as for example in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, tabular statements are presented of the chronological discoveries established by the study of Egyptian antiquities, by means of which the reader may not only follow up this most interesting course of observation through its various links, but also catch at a glance some idea of those contemporaneous occurrences in other countries, the comparison of which forms so valuable a department of the historian's labours.

Chronological tables.

There is something extremely fascinating to the intelligent mind in the study of a branch of antiquities which seems to bring us into familiar contact with events and occurrences which happened contemporaneously with those which have been revealed to us only in connexion with the solemn and commanding disclosures of the inspired Scriptures. Glancing over the chronological tables of Wilkinson, we follow down from Menes and Athothis, his son, to Suphis, the builder of the great pyramid ; to Aphoph, under whom Abraham visited Egypt, and the beauty of Sarai won the favour of Pharaoh. After a considerable interval, familiar to us by the sacred narrative, we are next attracted by the events of the reign of Osirtasen I., under whom it seems most probable that Joseph was called from his dungeon to the position of honour and influence, by means of which we obtain so remarkable a glimpse of the internal economy of Egypt. Wilkinson remarks: "The accession of the first Osirtasen I. I conceive to date about the year 1740 B.C., and the length of his reign must have exceeded forty-three years. If the name of this monarch was not ennobled by military exploits equal to those of the Remeses, the encouragement given to the arts of peace, and the flourishing state

Fascinating character of the study.

Abraham's visit to Egypt.

Government of Joseph.

Reign of Osirtasen I.

CHAP. XIII. of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom ; and his pacific character satisfactorily accords with that of the Pharaoh, who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger.

History of Joseph.

“ Some insight into Egyptian customs during his reign is derived from the story of Joseph, with whom I suppose him to have been coeval ; and the objects taken thither by the Ishmaelites, consisting in spices, balm, and myrrh, which were intended for the purposes of luxury as well as of religion ; the subsequent mention of the officers of Pharaoh’s household ; the state allowed to Joseph ; the portion of lands allotted to the priesthood, and other similar institutions and customs—tend to show the advanced state of society at this early epoch.”

Reign of Ames.

After another interval, we reach the reign of the first Theban or Diospolitan king, Ames, or Chebron, the introducer of a new dynasty, believed, on good evidence, to be that “ other king who knew not Joseph.” He is succeeded by Amunoph I., and by Amense, the sister of the latter, a singular evidence of the peculiar customs and also of the elevation accorded to women, consequent on the great advancement the Egyptians had then made in civilization. This queen is succeeded by Thothmes I., II., and III., in the reign of the last of whom, as has been already indicated, the wondrous manifestations of divine power were manifested, which are recorded in the Book of Exodus. In many cases, neither the exact date of accession nor of the death of these successive monarchs has been ascertained, and in some instances lacunae still exist which future discoveries may perhaps enable the Egyptian scholar to fill up. Still, many important historical epochs have been established, rendering it comparatively easy for the historian to accomplish ■ sufficiently near approximation to satisfactory chronology in most of the important events which come to be intercalated between these ascertained historic eras.

But it is not only the chronology of the grand points of history that has been established by means of these

Period of the Jewish Exodus.

recent discoveries. The knowledge of the manners, the CHAP. XIII. arts, and the minutest details of domestic habits, or agricultural proceedings, have been rendered familiar to us by means of their paintings and the numerous relics inclosed in their tombs. We have accordingly come to view the ancient Egyptians as a living people, in a sense far more definite than that which we are able to accord even to the Greeks or Romans, whose writings have become our household books. The wonderful preservation of the paintings and other relics of the ancient Egyptians, consequent on the extreme dryness of the climate and the sandy nature of the soil, has secured for modern inspection the minutest and apparently most trifling details. "When I was in the portico of the temple at Kom Umboo," says Miss Martineau, "I saw into a secret which I should have been sorry to have overlooked. Some of the paintings were half-finished ; and their ground was still covered with the intersecting red lines by which the artists secured their proportions. These guiding lines were meant to have been effaced as soon as the outlines were completed ; yet here they are at the end of, at least, two thousand years ! No hand, however light, has touched them, through all the intervening generations of men : no rains have washed them out, during all the changing seasons that have passed over them ; no damp has moulded them : no curiosity has meddled with them. It is as if the artist had lain down for his siesta, with his tools beside his hand, and would be up presently to resume his work : yet that artist has been a mummy, lying somewhere in the heart of the neighbouring hills, ever since the time when our island was bristling with forests, and its inhabitants were dressed in skins, and dyed their bodies blue with woad, to look terrible in battle. In another part of this temple, the stone is diced in small squares, to receive the hieroglyphic figures."

There is something so well defined and intelligible in the most ancient of Egyptian relics, now that we have

Manners
and customs
of the Egyp-
tians.

Egyptian
paintings.

Unfinished
drawings.

Reflections
suggested.

CHAP XIII. mastered the key to the hieroglyphics, that the antiquities of only a century or two old become dim and visionary, when contrasted with these revelations which shine out so clearly in the far distant past, among the most venerable incidents of the infant world. The invariable practice of carving the cartouche of the king on every building, and attaching it to mummies, pictures, temples, tombs, papyri, and even personal ornaments, along with the singularly graphic character of their pictorial representations of conquests, triumphs, religious ceremonials, &c., all furnish the most gratifying field for investigation. Compared with these, all other archæological speculations appear to be attended with the most painful uncertainty and doubt.

Vividness of
Egyptian
records.

The car-
touches.

Assyrian
ivories.

Ingenious
process for
restoring
them.

Difficulty of
procuring
them.

Among the collateral evidences of coincident events which have recently been brought to light, not the least interesting or remarkable is the discovery of ivories among the Assyrian ruins explored by Dr. Layard, bearing hieroglyphical cartouches, which, though not yet identified with any sovereign of the known Egyptian dynasties, leave no room to doubt of an early and intimate intercourse between the ancient kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt, and of the influence exercised both on the arts, and probably on the mythology of the former country by the latter. Dr. Layard furnishes an interesting account of the ingenious process by which these valuable relics were restored to a durable and safe state, when apparently beyond the hope of rescue from decay. Dr. Layard thus describes the circumstances under which the ancient ivories were found, among the ruins of Nineveh :— “ These ivories, when uncovered, adhered so firmly to the soil, and were in so forward a state of decomposition, that I had the greatest difficulty in extracting them, even in fragments. I spent hours lying on the ground, separating them, with a penknife, from the rubbish by which they were surrounded. Those who saw them when they first reached this country, will be aware of the difficulty of releasing them from the

hardened mass in which they were embedded. The ivory CHAP. XIII.
separated itself in flakes. Even the falling away of the earth was sufficient to reduce it almost to powder. This will account for the condition of the specimens which have been placed in the British Museum. With all the care that I could devote to the collection of the fragments, many were lost, or remained unperceived, in the immense heap of rubbish under which they were buried. Since they have been in England, they have been admirably restored and cleaned. The gelatinous matter, by which the particles forming the ivory are kept together, had, from the decay of centuries, been completely exhausted. By an ingenious process it has been restored, and the ornaments, which on their discovery fell to pieces almost upon mere exposure to the air, have regained the appearance and consistency of recent ivory, and may be handled without risk of injury."

The following is the description furnished by the same intelligent writer of two of the most remarkable of the ornaments thus ingeniously preserved. "The most interesting of the ivories are the remains of two small tablets, one nearly entire, the other much injured. Upon them are represented two sitting figures, holding in one hand the Egyptian sceptre or symbol of power. Between them is a cartouche, containing a name or words in hieroglyphics, and surmounted by a feather or plume, such as is found in monuments of the eighteenth, and subsequent dynasties of Egypt. The chairs on which the figures are seated, the robes of the figures themselves, the hieroglyphics in the cartouche, and the feather above it, were enamelled with a blue substance let into the ivory, and the whole ground of the tablet, as well as the cartouche and part of the figures, was originally gilded,—
Enamelling. remains of the gold leaf still adhering to them. The forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist."

Mode of re-storing them.

Character of the ivories.

Gilding.

CHAP. XIII. An engraving of this most curious relic is given in the second volume of "Dr. Layard's Nineveh;" and Mr. Engraving of the ivories. Samuel Birch, the Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum, and one of the ablest of modern hierologists, has thus described it in an article printed in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Northern Literature":—The first of these panels, which is the most complete, measures nine inches long by six inches high. The cartouche is placed vertically in the centre, surmounted by a solar disk, gilded, flanked by two ostrich feathers, which are inlaid with narrow horizontal strips of opaque blue glass, probably imitations of lapis-lazuli, and with some few bars in green. The area of the cartouche is gilded, and the hieroglyphics are incused, and inlaid with blue glass. At each side is a divinity, beardless, wearing the long hair-dress called *namms*, also inlaid with blue, and draped in linen garments, enveloping the whole of the form, with a border of inlaid blue ovals. The seats on which they sit are the usual Egyptian throne, the side decorated with scales alternately of blue and opaque green pastes, inlaid into the ivory, and intended to imitate lapis-lazuli and felspar. At the lower corner, in a compartment, in gilded ivory on a blue back-ground, is a symbol of life. Each divinity holds in one hand a *tam* or *kukupha* sceptre, and holds up the other with the palm turned towards the cartouche. No name is attached to either of these figures, which are probably intended for deities of an inferior rank, such as the Persian Izjeds. Like all the Egyptian figures, they are unbearded; but their drapery is not that of Egyptian females."

Hieroglyphics.

Phonetic value of the symbols.

There are eight symbols or hieroglyphical marks in the cartouche on the Nimroud ivory, which are thus rendered:—The reed A, the cord or boat-head U, the human leg and foot B, water, represented by the usual zigzag line N, the duckling U; in addition to which there are the sun's disk, commonly accompanying the royal cartouche, and forming the Ra,—sometimes form-

ing a phonetic syllable of the name, but more generally used in its symbolic sense, as one of the honorary appendages similar to those which are still so abundant in eastern courts. The name accordingly will read Aubmu-Ra, which, according to our knowledge of the Egyptian language, would signify *the shining sun*. Dr. Layard thus refers to this most interesting investigation. After describing, with considerable minuteness, the most noticeable features of the north-west palace, in which the ivories were found, and the state of the ruins at the time of their being uncovered by him, he goes on to say,—

Meaning of
the name.

“The ivory ornaments I conjecture to be contemporaneous with the vases, and so also most of the small objects found in the edifice. And if this fact be established, we may obtain important chronological data; for if the name in the cartouche could be satisfactorily deciphered, and identified with that of any Egyptian king, or with that of any Assyrian king whose place in history can be determined, we should be able at once to decide the period of the reign of the Khorsabad king, and of his successors.

“As the name cannot yet be determined, Mr. Birch, in a memoir read before the Royal Society of Literature, has endeavoured to fix the age of the ivories by ‘their artistic style, by philological peculiarities, and by the political relations between Egypt and Assyria.’ He well observes, that the style is not purely Egyptian, although it shows very close imitation of Egyptian workmanship, and this must strike any one who examines these fragments. The solar disk and plumes surmounting the cartouche, appear to have been first used in the time of the 18th dynasty, in the reign of Thothmes III., and are found above the names of kings as late as the Persian occupation of Egypt. The head attire of the king bears some resemblance to that of Amenophis III. at Karnak, and the kheppr, or helmet, also appears at the commencement of the 18th dynasty; the absence of peaked sandals, and the masses of locks

Probable
date of the
ivories.

Style of
workman-
ship.

Correspon-
dence in style
to the era of
Amenophis
III.

CHAP. XIII. of side hair, may possibly have been the fashion of the 22d dynasty.

*Ern assigned
by Mr. Birch.*

"As to the evidence afforded by the philological construction, and the employment of certain letters, all the symbols, except one, appear to have been in use from the earliest period in Egypt; the exceptional symbol, the U, was introduced generally in the time of the 18th dynasty. Mr. Birch concludes, that the time of the 22d dynasty would well suit the cartouche, if stress may be laid upon certain philological peculiarities.

*Mutual
intercourse
between
Egypt and
Assyria.*

"We have next the evidence of political intercourse between the two countries, as showing at what period it is likely that by trade or otherwise, articles of Egyptian manufacture may have been carried into Assyria, or Egyptian workmen may have sought employment in the Assyrian cities. It has already been shown that from the commencement of the 18th dynasty a close intercourse had already commenced,—chiefly, it would appear, by conquest; as the monuments of that period frequently allude to the subjugation of the countries on the borders of the Euphrates. But it is about the time of the 21st dynasty of Tanite kings, that the relations between the two countries seem to have been most fully established, and that more than a common connection had sprung up between them. Mr. Birch has discovered, and pointed out, the remarkable evidence afforded by the names of male and female members of this, and the following dynasty, which are evidently of Semitic, and even of Assyrian origin. Those of many of the kings of the 22d, or Bubastite, dynasty, are the most remarkable instances. We have Sheshank, his sons Shapud and Osorchoron, Nimrot, the son of Osorchoron II., Takilutha or Takellothis, Nimrot, the son of Takellothis II., and the names of queens, Lekamat or Rekamat, Karmam or Kalmim, daughter of the Prince Nimroud and Tatepor. The two first, Sheshank and Shapud, and the names of the queens, Mr. Birch shows, are not referable to Egyptian roots, but follow the analogy of Assyrian names

*Friendly
relations
between the
countries.*

*Assyrian
character of
the names.*

Osorhon he identifies with the Assyrian Sargon, Nim- CHAP. XIII.
rot with Nimrod, and Takilutha with Tiglath; a word
which enters into the composition of the name of the
Assyrian monarch, Tiglath Pileser.

"It is highly probable, therefore, that at this period, Contempo-
the reign of the 22d dynasty, very intimate relations rary occur-
existed between Egypt and the countries to the north-
east of it. Solomon had married a daughter of an Egyp-
tian monarch, and Jeroboam fled to the court of King
Shishak. The same alliances, therefore, may have been
formed between the most powerful monarchs of the time
—those of Assyria and Egypt. The two countries appear
then to have been at peace, and in friendly communica-
tion; for we have no notice in the Bible of wars be-
tween the Assyrians and Egyptians at this period, nor
does Naharaina appear amongst the numerous conquests
of Shishak. As their battle-ground would probably have
been some part of Syria, and the troops of one of the
two nations would have marched through the Jewish
territories, some record of the event would have been
preserved by the sacred writers. The monuments of this
dynasty do not contain any notice of triumphs and con-
quests to the east of the Euphrates. During this period
of intimate alliance, the Assyrian monarchs may have
adopted Egyptian names or *prænomens*, or may have
employed Egyptian artists to record their names and
titles in the sacred characters of Egypt. It is even pos-
sible that this connection may account for the appearance
of Egyptian names in the lists of Assyrian kings.

"Thus the evidence afforded by the artistic style of Concurren-
the cartouches, and by their philological peculiarities, as t. evidence.
well as by the principal period of political and com-
mercial intercourse between the two people, appears to coin-
cide, and points to the 22d dynasty, or 980 b.c., as the
most probable period of the ivories. At the same time it
must be observed that there is no argument against their
being attributed to the 18th dynasty."

The reader will find further suggestions, with a view

Evidence
derived from
the Scrip-
tures.

CHAP. XIII

Further
references
suggested.

to the elucidation of this interesting subject of inquiry, in Dr. Layard's valuable work. Supposing it to be an Assyrian monarch's name rendered in Egyptian hieroglyphics, it affords no less remarkable evidence of the intimate intercourse which must have existed at the period which it indicates, between the Egyptians and Assyrians. This may account for the affinities traceable between the mythology of the two countries as exhibited in their sculptures, notwithstanding the great difference which exists, both in character and style, between the monuments of Egypt and Nineveh. Like the ibis and hawk-headed gods of Egypt, the Assyrian marbles present frequent repetitions of the eagle or vulture-headed god, a human form conjoined with the head of a bird of prey. The sphynx also occurs in both countries, and the human-headed lions and bulls obviously belong to the same singular category.

Sheshank.

The Sheshank, referred to by Dr. Layard, is perhaps one of the most interesting of all the Egyptian rulers whose records have yet been deciphered on the Egyptian monuments, from his intimate connection with scriptural history, and the remarkable confirmation thereby afforded by the historical accuracy of the sacred narrative. Champollion was the first to discover the name of this sovereign among the monumental records of Egypt. "It is due to the memory of this illustrious man," says Gliddon, "to mention that, in his 'Precis,' he had identified and produced the name of SHESHONK, the Shishak of Scripture, (who, in 2 Chron. xii. 1-10; 1 Kings xiv. 25, deposed Rehoboam,) in the hieroglyphical oval, drawn in a plate of the great French work, as found at Karnac, which reads Amonmai Sheshonk."

Discovery of
his name.Verification
of the disco-

"Four years elapsed, before he could verify this fact on the temple itself, during which interval, the name of Sheshonk, and his captive nations, had been examined times out of number by other hieroglyphists, and the names of all the prisoners had been copied by them, and published, without any one of them having noticed

the extraordinary biblical corroboration thence to be deduced. CHAP. XIII.

"On his passage toward Nubia, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the vast halls of Karnac; and he at once pointed out in the third line of the row of sixty-three prisoners (each typical of a nation, city, or tribe,) presented by the god Amunra to Sheshonk, the figure and oval containing the hieroglyphics, which read *Judah Melek Kah*, that is, KING of the country of JUDAH."

The discovery here referred to cannot fail to interest the reader. Every student of the ancient remains of Egypt is familiar with the frequent representation of the Pharaohs triumphing over their enemies, and with hieroglyphical inscriptions which evidently record their various conquests over other nations. During Champollion's visit to Egypt he made a hasty inspection of the celebrated ruins of Karnac, and though only able to spend an hour or two among them, his experienced eye detected among the rows of prisoners presented by the god Amun-ra to Sheshonk, a captive figure surmounting a cartouche, which is now well known as reading "*Judah Melek Kah*," that is, the king of the country of Judah. It was supposed, indeed, at first, that it might also be justly esteemed to be a portrait of Rehoboam, as there cannot now be a doubt that portraiture was aimed at in some of the sculptures on the temples. But in the case of the rows of prisoners represented on the temple of Karnac and elsewhere, they are evidently to be regarded as typical of the nation or city which the Egyptian Pharaoh had conquered. Each of them represents a figure bound as a captive. But a manifest difference in the character of the countenance, and in the costume of each, is discernible, so that an opinion can generally be formed of the nation or class of races to which they belonged. It is, indeed, one of the interesting inferences derived from these national portraitures on the Egyptian monuments, that only a very slight change appears to have

Supposed
portrait of
Rehoboam.

Interesting
inferences
suggested.

CHAP. XIII. recurred on the Jewish physiognomy during the many ages that have elapsed from the periods of their assuming their place among the nations to our own day, when they have wandered for eighteen centuries as strangers and vagabonds on the face of the earth. A reference to the Scripture narrative confirms us in the conviction that it is erroneous to look for Rehoboam's portrait on the Egyptian monuments, as we learn from the Book of Chronicles that, though "Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the measures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house," yet Rehoboam purchased the forbearance of the conqueror by a large ransom.

Illustrations
of Scripture
history.

Similar illustrations of Scripture history occur at various later eras, all affording the most remarkable confirmation of its truth, not only in the great historic features of the sacred narrative, but frequently in exceedingly minute details. The antiquities of Assyria have in like manner already furnished important contributions to the same end, though the investigation of them is still in its infancy, and a large accumulation of the materials for study may be expected to be speedily added to our present stock. When we consider how great was the influence of these two kingdoms on the whole Jewish history, we are justified in looking for many important illustrations from the new sources of their historic records now opening up to us. Nor can the thoughtful mind fail to regard with the deepest interest the results of that singular providence which has thus revealed to us, when separated by so many ages, from the period of these great events, such prolific sources of new and altogether unlooked for evidence. They demand our earnest and faithful study, and we feel assured that the examples here derived from such investigation are sufficient to satisfy the reader of their great value and importance, if not to tempt him still further to pursue the same instructive investigations in the vast plains of Assyria, and along the banks of the ancient Nile.

Further
discoveries
anticipated.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mohammed Ali and his Successors.

Ambitious schemes of Mohammed Ali—His acquirement of the Ottoman fleet—Expedition to the Morea—The war carried into Syria—Ineffectual measures of the Sultan—Critical position of Turkey—Interference of England—Bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre—Mohammed Ali relinquishes Syria—Character of Ibrahim Pasha—Early amusements—Contrasted character of his father—Wretched state of the Egyptians—Abbas Pasha—Education and character.

In the summary of the civil history of modern Egypt, CHAP XIV. drawn up by Bishop Russell, it has been brought down to a period immediately preceding the second collision of Mohammed Ali with the Sublime Porte, in which the European powers interfered, and the British fleet was employed so effectually on the coast of Syria in checking the aggressive encroachments of the ambitious ruler of Egypt. Although practically an independent ruler, he had all along acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the Sultan, and maintained such relations with Turkey as sufficed to preclude the other powers of Europe from any legitimate occasion of interference between the Sultan and his Viceroy. It was well known, however, that he meditated the establishment of a hereditary sovereignty in his own family, and only waited a favourable opportunity for taking the needful steps to secure for his posterity independent rule on the banks of the Nile. In 1838, Mohammed Ali made very unequivocal disclosures of his views to the consuls of

Extent of
previous nar-
rative.

Ambitious
schemes of
Mohammed
Ali.

CHAP. XIV. France and England, and gave expression to his ill-concealed designs for extending his sway over Syria, by declaring his conviction of the total inability of the Sultan to maintain his rule over the Syrian provinces. Then, coming to the point, he referred to the necessity of his coming to a determination about his own successor, and added that the most certain means for effecting the object in view was, "to free himself from the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte,—which would be easy, if England and France, viewing rightly their own interests, interposed no obstacles in the way of his designs." The view, however, which both France and England took of their general interests, as involved in these plans, greatly differed from his, and it was not long before they were brought into collision.

Partial stage of civilization. The history of states in such a transitional stage of civilization must be judged of by very different tests from those which are found applicable to nations far advanced in refinement. The first important result of Mohammed Ali's ambitious plans, which seemed to promise the speedy accomplishment of the whole, was his getting possession of the Ottoman fleet through the treachery of the Capoudan Pasha. This important event took place on the 14th July 1839, and in addition to the naval armament thus gained doubly by Mohammed Ali, (since it not only put him in possession of a large fleet, but at the same time reduced the Sultan's naval power by the whole extent of his acquirements,) the chest of the traitor admiral contained at the time, L.120,000.

Surrender of the Ottoman fleet.

With all the jealousy of an absolute eastern potentate, Mohammed Ali appears to have shown no little indecision in the choice of a successor. Ibrahim, though brave and fearless, and therefore intrusted with the execution of his most daring aggressive measures, was destitute of that subtle tact for negotiation, and the politic cunning, which, far more than any personal courage, had contributed to his father's success. At

one time Mohammed Ali named his young son, Said CHAP XIV. Ben Ali, as his presumptive heir, while at another he spoke of dividing his dominions between Ibrahim and Abbas Pasha, his grandson. Death, however, removed his gallant son, ere the throne became vacant for which he had established such good claims. Meanwhile he continued his plans for securing the recognition of the independence of Egypt ; sent large reinforcements into Syria ; bribed the officers of the Turkish squadron by doubling their pay ; and brought into full play all the resources his wonderful sagacity and energy could suggest. He was all along, however, in the position of a man in advance of his age. He had to deal with half civilized Turks and altogether uncivilized Arabs for his adherents or tools, while his policy was rousing the opposition of some of the chief powers of Europe. Under these circumstances, his only resource was to take refuge, if possible, in the alliance and co-operation of such of the European powers as he could induce, by motives of policy or interest, to attach themselves to him. Even where this failed him, he had still recourse to the agency of European skill and educated ability, and hence his policy was frequently more affected than he was aware of, by the chance influence of the favourite of the hour. At this time the assiduities of the French had prevailed, and relying on their favour, Mohammed Ali prepared himself for new conquests.

When Ibrahim Pasha was formerly sent to the Morea, to bear a part in the sanguinary contests which were brought to a close by the battle of Navarino, in 1827, it was professedly as a dutiful agent, commissioned to accomplish the will of the Sultan. Mohammed Ali did not, however, lose sight for a moment of his own plans. On the return of Ibrahim, he made the losses sustained in Greece, as well as others resulting from more fortunate campaigns, a pretext for claiming the gift of his coveted acquisitions from the Porte. The Pashalics of Acrea and Damascus were accordingly

Indecision
and uncer-
tainty.

Resources at
his com-
mand.

Expedition
to the Morea.

CHAP. XIV. demanded for him ; and when these were withheld, he retaliated by leaving the unfortunate Sultan to contend alone against the Russians. Meanwhile his own resources were augmented. Ships were built or acquired, until the Egyptian navy amounted to about thirty sail. Large bodies of native cavalry and infantry were raised and drilled on the European system, and Mohammed Ali, at length sanguine of success, found a convenient pretext for commencing aggressive movements against Abd'-allah, the holder of the Pashalic of Acrea, which he coveted. The Pasha shut himself up in it with abundant provisions and a garrison of 3000 men, and stood on his defence. Ibrahim laid siege to it in the latter end of 1831, and took possession of it for his father early in the following summer. The Sultan was naturally exasperated. According to the usual line of Turkish policy, the unfortunate Abd'-allah was sent prisoner to the Bosphorus. Hussein was nominated Pasha of Egypt in Mohammed Ali's stead, and provided with an army to enforce the deposition of the revolted Pasha, while a Turkish fleet sailed to the Levant to co-operate with the army. Mohammed Ali failed not to turn the advantages of such decisive measures to account ; under his influence the Scheriff of Mekka interfered, like the Pope in the older contests of Europe, and the Sultan was anathematized as the enemy of the Prophet. On the 15th of June, Ibrahim entered and took possession of Damascus. The Turkish army amounted to 20,000 men, while that under the command of Ibrahim was fully ■ fifth less ; but the former was greatly inferior in discipline, and commanded by an unskilful general ; and speedily gave way before the assault of the Egyptian army. The Turks were completely routed, and the victor retained, as the proofs of his success, twelve of their guns, and 3000 prisoners. Aleppo fell into his hands, and the inhabitants suffered the full miseries attendant on the presence of a victorious army. Other victories followed, and while the

Measures
against Mo-
hammed Ali.

Damascus
taken by
Ibrahim.

Retaliation
on the Sul-
tan.

unfortunate Sultan carried on a fruitless and vacillating CHAP. XIV.
policy, productive of no results, the viceroy of Egypt followed up his well-concerted plans, and in the spring of 1839, appeared to have established the conquest of the whole of Syria, without any effectual step having been taken to restrain him.

The affairs of the Sublime Porte seemed to be growing New Turkish
desperate, and some decisive blow was indispensable if army.
the Turkish empire was to be saved. The Sultan obtained the aid of experienced European officers ; a force was raised amounting to thirty-five thousand men, and despatched under the command of Hafiz Pasha into Syria. After various sieges, and desperate skirmishing, the armies of Ibrahim and of the Sultan met on the 24th of June 1839. Every means that Turkish policy could devise had been employed to secure success. The armies were nearly equal when they met, and the balance was turned in favour of the Sultan by the desertion of 1800 of the Syrian recruits of Ibrahim to the opposing army, while several other disaffected regiments forsook their ranks as soon as the conflict began. All, however, proved unavailing. The Ottoman army was again completely routed ; a terrible slaughter followed, and many more of the disbanded army perished from hunger, or were captured and slain. The power of the Egyptian viceroy was effectually established in Syria, and at this critical juncture—only ten days prior to this final contest,—the Turkish fleet, as already stated, was betrayed into the hands of Mohammed Ali.

It seemed as if the Turkish empire was drawing to a close ; and some earnest students of prophecy began to turn their attention, with renewed interest, to the sacred writings, in anticipation of witnessing the fulfilment of their prophetic declarations regarding the downfall of the False Prophet. Europe was at this time in a critical state. A war between England and America seemed not improbable. The Viceroy confidently anticipated the alliance of France ; and, looking forward to the pos-

Complete route of the Ottoman army.

Critical position of Turkey.

CHAP. XIV. sibility of a general European war, he watched like a skilful and wary gamester, well pleased to take his chance in the hazard of such a game. The policy of England, however, could not be reconciled with his schemes of aggression. The first evidence of the decided want of sympathy, on the part of England, which the Viceroy experienced, was the interception of a large body of Albanian volunteers, proceeding to join the Egyptian army, and who, being transported in Ionian vessels, were thereby more directly brought under surveillance of the British agency. The indignant Pasha threatened to retaliate with insurrection and revolt in the British dependencies of the Mediterranean; but the British Consul-General coolly retorted with threats of still more potent evidences of the power of England, and demanded the restitution of the Turkish fleet. It is generally understood that Ibrahim advised his father to give way to the British demands; in which case it is not improbable that Mohammed Ali would have been at once established in the hereditary possession of Egypt, and perhaps also of the Pashalic of Acrea, (which he greatly coveted,) with the full concurrence of the European powers. Mohammed Ali was, however, not unnaturally elated at his recent good fortune, and little inclined to resign any of the fruits of so successful a campaign. European engineers, chiefly French employés, reported St. Jean d'Acre impregnable, and assured him, that, with his augmented fleet and victorious army, he might safely bid defiance to England. The consequences are well known. The English, wearied out by his insincere pretexts and shallow subterfuges, employed only to gain time, sent a fleet to blockade the coast. The tide of fortune turned against the Viceroy. Insubordination and desertion thinned his ranks, and disorganized his army; and when, on the 10th of October 1840, Beyrout fell into the hands of the English, the Egyptian army had lost, by positive defection, deserters, and killed, wounded, and prisoners, little short of 40,000

Cunning
policy of
Mohammed
Ali.

Unexpected
interference
of England.

Fortification
of St. Jean
d'Acre.

men. The English marines co-operated with the Turks CHAP. XIV. along the Syrian coast. Caiffa and Sidon, the chief arsenal and military depôts of the Pasha, fell into their hands ; and, on the 3d of November 1840, St. Jean d'Acre, which had been declared by the French engineers of the Pasha to be impregnable, was bombarded, and after a cannonade of only three hours and a-half, the British and Turkish flags were floating on its walls.

Bombardment of Acre.

The bombardment of Acre was one of the most remarkable and terrific evidences of the irresistible power of modern artillery, when skillfully employed. A well-directed shell from one of the English steam-frigates blew up the principal magazine, annihilating in an instant every living thing within an area of 60,000 yards, including two entire regiments, and probably little less than 2000 human beings. St. Jean d'Acre had been rebuilt, and its fortifications re-constructed, entirely under the supervision of skilful French engineers, since its capture by Ibrahim Pasha, in 1832. It was defended by 460 guns of the heaviest calibre, which were worked, on this occasion, by French bombardiers, while it was amply provisioned for a siege of eight months. It was not, therefore, with any sense of imminent danger, that Mohammed Ali saw the British fleet drawing near. He flattered himself, that, let them begin the siege when they pleased, he had months before him in which to follow out his usual tactics, while the English battered in vain at his *impregnable* fortress. The astonishment of the Viceroy may therefore be conceived, when the first news which reached him of the results of the siege was, that, after only three and a-half hours, this vast fortress was almost annihilated, its garrison slain or captive, and the flags of England and Turkey floating on its ruins. The Duke of Wellington, in a speech in the House of Lords, pronounced the bombardment of Acre one of the most splendid achievements of modern times. The impression of British power and influence which this produced in the East was astonishing. The

Explosion of the great magazine.

Astonishment of the Viceroy.

CHAP. XIV. Pasha seemed to be rudely awakened from a dream. He sought to ingratiate himself with the British, by permitting the mails to proceed, without interruption, to India, at the very time that their fleet was thus wresting his most prized conquests from his grasp. At this very time, a change took place in the French Cabinet. The news reached Egypt, that M. Thiers, the French Prime Minister, on whom he had heretofore secretly relied, was dismissed; and all his hopes of conquest and power seemed passing away from him like a dream. Even in this state, with the British fleet off Alexandria, and the terrible events which had just transpired in Syria, as a warning to him, the Viceroy negotiated, temporized, and tried all his old plans of crooked policy,—but in vain. The English mediation was, indeed, a difficult task; for the Sultan was hard to be persuaded to deal with his ambitious Viceroy otherwise than as a rebel vassal; while Mohammed Ali had so often “laughed at the beards” of the Ottoman ministers, that he was little inclined to adopt even the politic diplomacy of a nominal vassal, in order to gain his own ends with those whom he had so recently outwitted, alike by strategy and open force. England, however, held the balance, and was able to dictate to both.

Relinquish-
ment of
Syria.

Early in 1841, Mohammed Ali was recognised, by an imperial firman, as Hereditary Pasha of Egypt; while the Ottoman fleet was delivered back to the Sultan; and Ibrahim Pasha received orders to retire immediately from Syria. Many cruelties and excesses had been practised by Ibrahim’s forces during the period of triumph. When he became master of Aleppo, in the month of July 1832, the town is said to have contained a population of 200,000. But rapine, plunder, and murder, were carried to such an extent, that it was speedily reduced to only 75,000 inhabitants. This conveys a terrible idea of the excesses perpetrated by the soldiery; and these were not likely to be diminished by the only

Politic for-
bearance of
Mohammed
Ali.

English
mediation.

effectual restraints, of authority and the politic interests CHAP. XIV.
of their superiors, when they were compelled to evacuate Syria, and resign all the fruits of their victory. Still Character of Ibrahim.

those who have had the best opportunities of judging of his character and natural disposition, have generally concurred in assigning many high and estimable qualities to this son of Mohammed Ali. He must not, indeed, be tried exactly by the standards of European society. Educated in the harem, and early employed to carry out his father's despotic projects, at the head of forces raised and maintained in defiance of all those principles by which individual rights and liberty are secured in our own happy country, it would not be difficult to refer to instances of cruelty and oppression in which he has borne an active, and, perhaps, not unwilling part. Even some of the favourite amusements of his youth display a ludicrous mixture of the folly of that age, with the recklessness of life and property peculiar to half civilized despotic rule. It is reported of him, that his most favourite pastime was to sit at a window, armed with a loaded rifle, and watch the approach of the "sakkaas," or water-carriers, who bring that indispensable requisite from the Nile, in skins carried on their shoulder, or below their arm. No sooner did one of these industrious labourers appear with his burden, than Ibrahim took aim with his rifle, and being an excellent shot, generally contrived to pierce the skin, and thus enjoyed the mixture of surprise and terror with which the poor Arab sakkaa witnessed the sudden collapsing of his water-skin, and the loss of the fruits of his mid-day toil. Dr. Yates, who narrates this, adds, that, Dangerous pastime.

"being an excellent shot, he seldom did any greater harm;" but the death of a poor Arab from such reckless sport would be matter of little account in the estimation of Ibrahim or his obsequious attendants. He was, however, undoubtedly brave and generous, and greatly more open and straightforward in his actions than his less educated, but crafty father. We are little

CHAP. XIV. capable, however, under the best circumstances, of forming any just estimate of the future. Bishop Russell, after comparing the state of Egypt before and after its subjection to Mohammed Ali's rule, proceeds to consider its prospects under his successor; and Dr. Yates, writing in 1842, enlarges on the fortunate circumstance that the succession should devolve on Ibrahim Pasha.

Applicable tests.

It would be equally unjust and erroneous to test the fitness of Ibrahim Pasha for the viceroyalty of Egypt by the rules of judgment recognised in highly civilized lands. His career was, indeed, from first to last, one little calculated for rearing a humane and merciful ruler. Inured almost from infancy to the toils and tumults of a camp, he early displayed the adventurous spirit, reckless courage, and indomitable resolution for which he was distinguished to the last. His proceedings with the Egyptian conscripts, his campaigns against the wretched Wahabees, and some of the terrible fruits of his Syrian conquests, are narrated here. His devastations and cruelties in the Morea, prior to the battle of Navarino, are no less notorious; and in his second Syrian campaign, blood flowed like water, and human life was squandered as heedlessly as the mown grass is cut down before the reaper's scythe. Such certainly is not the school in which the ruler of a people can be trained to mercy and justice. Yet much of this was the result of circumstances over which he had little control, and, tried by the rude standard of such a people as Mohammed Ali ruled over, he was not devoid of many virtues which might have proved beneficial to the people, when the fierce passions and wayward recklessness of unbridled youth had been subdued by the experience of later years. In 1846, Ibrahim visited France and England, and was received in both countries with all the distinction due to his high rank, and the prominent part he had taken in public affairs. The intelligent interest he manifested in all the novelties to which he was then introduced, proved an abundant capacity

Ibrahim's
early blood-
shed and
cruelties.

Visit to
France and
England.

for profiting by experience, and gave additional grounds CHAP. XIV. for the sanguine expectations entertained by many of the beneficent results to be anticipated from his rule. All these anticipations, however, were destined to prove abortive. Ibrahim did indeed attain to supreme rule. On September 1st, 1848, he was nominated viceroy of Egypt in the room of Mohammed Ali, whose increasing years and infirmities incapacitated him for the cares of government. But he also was already a prey to debility and disease. The excesses of his youth had been followed up by unbounded indulgence in his riper years, and in little more than two months after he had assumed the sceptre of his father, he was cut off, leaving the aged viceroy to survive him.

The earlier years of Mohammed Ali had been passed very differently from those of Ibrahim. Brought up under the singular patriarchal institution of slavery as it still exists in the East, he had been accustomed to restraint and subordination, and had progressed to power by successive steps, calculated in some degree to prepare him for its exercise according to eastern usages. Doubtless the restraints which thus environed his earlier years proved beneficial to him in this respect, at least, that it excluded him from the unbridled indulgence in such excesses as proved fatal to his son and successor. The same causes also contributed, in part at least, to develop that shrewd cunning and politic sagacity, to which he has owed so much of his success. It might have been expected that the knowledge acquired by him of the rapacity and dishonesty of inferior officers during his own probationary state of subordination, would have taught him the policy, if not the justice and humanity, of restraining their extortions. Little of this, however, was manifested in his rule. The wretched fellahs of Egypt are described by Lane, as being obliged to *steal*, and convey secretly to their own huts by night, a sufficient stock of the produce of their own lands to supply them with the bare

Disappointment
of ex-
pectations.

Early years
of Moham-
med Ali.

Contrasted
characters.

CHAP. XIV. necessities of life, without attracting the cupidity of the government tax-gatherers, and other inferior officials.
Wretched state of his subjects. “The oppressions which the peasantry of Egypt endure from the dishonesty of the Ma-moors and inferior officers, are indescribable. It would be scarcely possible for them to suffer more, and live.” Much of the oppression originated in the measures taken by the Pasha for increasing his revenue, and doubtless in the state of society so long engendered by oppression and misrule, it would have proved no easy task to select government officers whose trustworthiness and humanity could be relied upon. The present Pasha has not the protracted wars of his grandfather to drain his exchequer, and stimulate him to new and equally oppressive exactions ; but there is little ground for believing that any very great amelioration has been effected in the condition of the poor fellah of Egypt. One of the most recent writers on Egypt, Bayle St. John, remarks : “A mighty element of corruption in Egypt is the government. Without deciding whether, ultimately, the people give their character to the rulers, or the rulers to the people, I can venture to say that, under the present system, it is impossible for a nation to be otherwise than brutalized and degraded. Egypt under the great Pasha was like a child forced to play the part of a man—to assume an attitude, gesture, manner, and mode of life, totally at variance with its state of advancement. Its resources were thus exhausted, and its capacity of development perfectly drained out. Vanity and ambition were satisfied, and dust thrown in the eyes of the world ; but the people were impoverished, starved, and demoralized.” The extent, indeed, to which demoralization and the grossest vice are carried in the East, can hardly be conceived of in this country ; and while they prevail to their utmost extent among the highest ranks, their baleful influence extends to the lowest, corrupting every grade, until the wretched fellah, who reaps the final harvest of all, is trod down at every step into a
Corrupt government.

greater depth of misery. Even of Ibrahim Pasha, CHAP. XIV. whose death has been mourned by some as an irreparable loss to Egypt, Bayle St. John, after a residence of some years in the East, remarks :—“ Cruel, overbearing, and brutal in manners, his private life was stained by the commission of almost every vice of which human nature is capable. The majority of those who crowded enthusiastically around him in moral England, because he was called a prince, have probably never heard even the names of the crimes which were his daily pastime.”

On the death of the great Pasha, who expired at Alexandria on the 2d of August, 1849, the viceroyalty devolved on his grandson, Abbas Pasha, who, during the rule of Ibrahim, had acted as governor of Cairo. Abbas Pasha was then about thirty-five years of age, and possessed sufficient experience in the forms of Turkish and Egyptian government to undertake the task without any marked display of incapacity. The ^{Early education.} favourite occupation of his earlier years is said to have been ram-fighting, and sufficiently unfavourable accounts of his former debauchery have been narrated by recent travellers ; but it would be unjust to charge these against him as peculiar characteristics. Educated in the harem of Mohammed Ali and his sons, we cannot wonder that he should have become initiated in the most prevalent of eastern vices. He is said, however, to be a genuine Turk, and to have little of the favour for European skill or interference which, notwithstanding all his sagacity, so frequently made Mohammed Ali the dupe of foreign charlatans. Taking into full account all the great evils which still prevail in Egypt, and render its wretched Arab population so degraded and debased, it cannot be doubted that the usurpation of Mohammed Ali was the commencement of a new era, which, if not arrested by some unlooked-for change, may yet restore the fertile valleys of the Nile to their ancient greatness as the chief granaries of the Mediterranean, and the connecting link of intercommunication.

Opinion of
Ibrahim
Pasha.

Partiality for
native influ-
ence.

CHAP. XIV. between India and Europe. This, however, can only be the work of time, and it may be doubted if the almost constant employment of Europeans, accustomed to the habits and ideas, as well as to the civil rights of France or England, in all the most important offices, be beneficial to the people. It is only by a gradual system of development of free institutions, along with the increasing intelligence of the people, that any real permanent good can accrue ; whereas the forcing of European institutions on a people totally unaccustomed to any civil liberty or self-government, is like introducing a child to the unrestrained liberty and the responsibilities of manhood. It is not, therefore, to be regarded as an unpropitious thing that the new Pasha inclines to govern according to the familiar habits of Eastern rule, rather than by means of institutions imperfectly copied from the older states of Europe.

THE END,

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